

VOL.2 NO.3 WINTER 1979-80 \$1.25

POLITICAL
MOVEMENTS

THE ASIANADIAN

AN ASIAN CANADIAN MAGAZINE



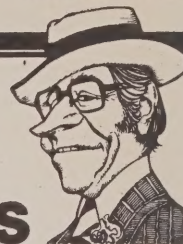
dear readers

No amount of
Globe and Mail

accolades
for us
can stop
rising
printing
and
distribution
costs!

8 THE GLOBE AND MAIL, THURSDAY, DECEMBER

**DICK
BEDDOES**



Dubious Award starts season

D ECEMBER IS the time for summing up, for inventory, recapitulation and review. Memory is frisked, votes cast and counted, titles conferred — man-of-the-year, highlight-of-the-year, train-wreck-of-the-year, cop-of-the-year, flop-of-the-year, and so yawn.

At hand is the first selection received for 1979, the Dubious Award, presented by the lively Asianadian, an Asian Canadian magazine published in Toronto.

Editor Cheuk C. Kwan writes, "Our Dubious Award is given to 'outstanding' stereotyping and distortions on Asians by individuals and the mass media. Past recipients include the Toronto Star, Calgary Herald and the Takee-Outee Restaurant in Hamilton."

"Now our Dubious Award goes to George Sinclair, Toronto's boat people critic."

Sinclair's citation reads, in part, "He has decided to...

Quote of the day

"If the Vietnamese survived monsoons, napalm bombs and pirates in the South China Sea, they will be just fine this winter in Saskatoon..." — Cheuk Kwan, editor of Asianadian magazine. Page 8.

They have escalated to
a point where we may not
be able to continue:
To bring you incisive articles on
ASIAN CANADIAN affairs & issues,
To bring you a unique ASIAN
perspective to Canadian culture,
To be a forum for ASIAN artists
& writers in Canada.

YOU can help by:

- ~ Taking a Subscription for yourself or friends,
- ~ Advertizing your goods or services,
- ~ Giving a tax deductible donation:

Benefactor	\$ 150.
Sponsor	\$ 100.
Donor	\$ 75.
Contributor	\$ 50.

All donations of \$50. or more will be acknowledged in the MASTHEAD.

The Asianadian

one day
and didn't
before some
paying him —
Classified advertise
Challenge Crossword 38
Contract Bridge 16
Movies 19

Teaching ball
ing for dancers
Augustyn, even
dents' modesty
scenes rather dif.

Contents

Vol.2 No.3 Winter '79-80

Features

Departments

***Asianadia And The AngloLeft* 4**

T.T.Mao

***The Struggle of South Asian Canadians* 8**

M.L.Handa

***The Filipino Typhoon And The Marcos Regime* 11**

V. DeLeon

***The Foreign Threat That Never Was!* 21**

Cheuk Kwan

***Overseas Koreans And The Korean Dictatorship* 27**

Simon Lee

Editorial 2

Dubious Award 7

Face to Face 15

Heritage Reruns 19

International Forum 23

Reviews 25

Community News 29

Poetry 32

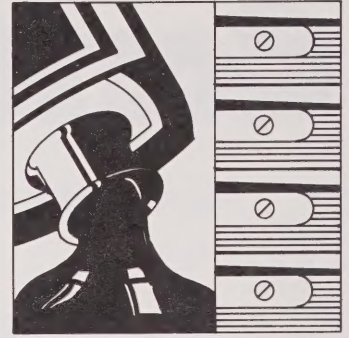
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Asianadian wishes to correct an oversight in Vol. II, No. 2 (Children). We would like to thank Rana Choi for permission to use her photograph taken by D.M. Yip on our cover. Merci beaucoup to Francine Couture for typing assistance in this issue.

The Asianadian: An Asian Canadian Magazine is published quarterly by the Asianadian Resource Workshop, P.O. Box 1256, Station "Q", Toronto, Ontario M4T 2P4 Canada. Copyright (c) 1979. All rights reserved. Contents may not be reprinted without prior written permission. The magazine welcomes submissions of critical essays, community news and articles, poetry, art work, fiction and reviews concerning the Asian experience in Canada as well as letters to the Editor. Manuscripts will only be returned if accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. The opinions expressed in this issue are not necessarily those of the Board of Editors.

ISSN# 0705-8861. Second Class Mail Registration Number: 4438, Toronto, Canada. The Workshop is registered as a non-profit organization. All donations are tax deductible. Member of the Canadian Periodical Publishers' Association. Printed by Muskox Press. Financial assistance has been provided by the Ontario Arts Council. The magazine is managed by a Board of Editors. Production this issue: (Issue Editors: A. Rahim, Bobby Siu, Momoye Sugiman), Alice Au, Tony Chan, Lynne Kutsukake, Cheuk Kwan, Cathy Lai, Connie Shum, Mohinder Singh, Barbara Yip, Diane Yip. Graphic design by Carson Young. Cover design by Wayne Lum and Sunny Urata.

Editorial



Are you tired of hearing us yell prejudice, discrimination, bigotry, and inequality? Should we apologize for our outrage? We cannot and will not apologize, for we are righteously exposing what has customarily been swept under the rug. We, as victims of racism, shall proclaim loudly and clearly that racial/ethnic groups have been put down, humiliated, abused, and ignored, and that our task is to right these wrongs in an organized and democratic manner.

Some people maintain that Asian Canadians are "inward looking" and concerned only with their home countries (as opposed to Canada). However, studies have demonstrated that minority groups turn inward precisely because the dominant groups have rejected them. Every time we try to contribute to the larger society, we are ignored and treated as if our opinions and performances do not count. Gradually, some of us began to ask ourselves, "why should we bother to take an interest in the activities of the larger society when the dominant groups do not accept us as *real* Canadians?" As the recent program "Campus Giveaway" on CTV illustrates, we are still viewed as "foreigners" in this country. (See Mao's and Kwan's articles). Asian Canadians have tried and are still trying to enter the mainstream of society, but our views and performances count only in the area of racial/ethnic relations. We have learned from the dominant media, the school system, and from our daily experiences to devalue ourselves -- to derive our feelings of self-worth primarily from our food, folk songs, arts and crafts and by speaking in public only on our own so-called "ethnic

problems", etc. In other words, we have been forced to "look inward".

In this issue, we dispell the myth of the docile Asian Canadian. After a century of discrimination and oppression, the very existence of this magazine is a testimony to the indefatigable Asian Canadians' will and fighting spirit. As Handa's article demonstrates, Asian Canadians are prepared to fight to create a non-racist society. Anger and frustration can be replaced by positive and constructive action. We can learn to organize and mobilize. We don't believe in individual accommodation to the *status quo* -- or in apathy. **WE BELIEVE IN POLITICAL ACTION AND ANY ACTION WHICH WILL HELP TO ABOLISH RACIAL/ETHNIC INEQUALITIES.**

Anti-racism is only one of the many tasks undertaken by Asian Canadians. The fight for human dignity and democracy is another urgent task. Lee's and DeLeon's articles portray the roles of Korean and Filipino Canadians in anti-fascist struggles against repressive regimes. Some people may view this struggle as yet another example of Asian Canadian activity. Given the colonial and racist mentality of many Canadians, it would be surprising to find non-Asian Canadians initiating and organizing protest movements against fascism in Asian countries. If Asian Canadians do not take a leading role in these struggles, who will?

Although many Asian Canadians see Canada as a country of freedom and democracy, they do not realize that the laws of this land are not eternal, and that they can be changed in a matter of days or even minutes. It did not take the Government of Canada long to intern Italian Canadians in 1940 when Italy

POETS WANTED !

I am editing an anthology of poems written by Asians in Canada and Canadians of Asian heritage, tentatively titled: *Land of the Morning* (a line from the Philippine national anthem). Expected publication date is Spring, 1980. Please send your poems and a brief biography by February 28, 1980 to me.

- Lakshmi Gill



Lakshmi Gill
P.O. Box 713
Sackville, New Brunswick
E0A 3C0

SUPPORT THE ASIANADIAN.. BUY A SUBSCRIPTION.. PASS THIS ON TO A FRIEND.. SEND A DONATION..

declared war on France and Britain. Some Italian Canadians are still wondering how it came to be that they worked for the government one day, and were shipped to Camp Petawawa the next. The internment and the confiscation of their properties in 1942 also took the Japanese Canadians by surprise. The French Canadians were shocked by the imposition of the War Measure Act in 1970. (See Omatsu's article) We must remember that we are living in a country which does not really regard non-Anglo persons as "Canadians". In times of crisis (as defined by the dominant Anglo class), our rights can be stripped away in a matter of minutes.

The recent deportation of thousands of Iranian

students from the U.S. is a chilling reminder of what could happen in Canada if an Asian country(ies) comes into conflict with the Canadian government. Canadian history tells us that as long as we are treated as "foreigners" and second class citizens, arrest, concentration camps, deportation, etc. will always loom over our heads.

In the 1980s, the present economic crisis --- unemployment and stagflation --- may escalate as the state increases its debts and competition for bits of the shrinking economic pie intensifies. Like governments in many Third World countries, the Canadian government may increasingly find it difficult to function without resorting to coercive force. In fact, the increase in the "internal security" budget, the call for legalizing the illegal acts of the RCMP, and the stripping of workers' rights to protest and strike suggest that the government is preparing for just such a move. Gradually, this country of "freedom and democracy" is moving toward a police state similar to those in Indonesia (see Rahim's article), the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, Argentina, Chile, and South Africa.

Since they are marginal, Asian Canadians should be sensitive to these changes in the political climate and their repercussions. No longer can we close our eyes to the harassment of homosexuals, blacks, Native Peoples, non-English speaking immigrants, dissident workers, progressive activists, etc. in Canada or to world politics. Canadian history has demonstrated again and again that the status of ethnic groups is highly related to international situations. Just across the border, the racist pattern is becoming much more obvious and the ill-treatment of the Arabs and the Japanese in the U.S. must be put in the context of the growing "oil crisis" and the economic rivalry between Japan and the U.S. Our magazine has instituted a special department entitled "International Forum" to enlarge our horizons and provide us with a global perspective on the politics of racism.

Finally, we call for an alliance of all minority groups in Canada since we realize the importance of solidarity in the context of the recent upsurge of conservatism and rightist movements. Let us learn from the past in building the future. The testimony of Reverend M. Niemoller, a Nazi prison survivor, should serve as a warning and a reminder of the importance of the task in front of us :

"First they arrested the Communists --- But I was not a Communist, so I did nothing. Then they came for the Social Democrats --- but I was not a Social Democrat, so I did nothing. Then they arrested the trade unionists --- and I did nothing because I was not one. And then they came for the Jews and then the Catholics, but I was neither a Jew nor a Catholic and I did nothing. At last they came and arrested me --- and there was no one left to do anything about it."

A. Rahim
B. Siu
M. Sugiman

Third World Books & Crafts Inc.



"A full line of Afro-Asian books and magazines"



748 Bay Street, Toronto M5G 1N6 Phone 597-0024

China Imports

We have beautiful gift and handicraft products from the People's Republic of China and the Orient

- . TABLE CLOTH
- . HOME DECORATIONS
- . CUSTOM PICTURE FRAMING (specializing in stretching needle-point tapestry)



422 Queen St. W
Toronto
863-6192

ASIANADIA AND

THE ANGLO *LEFT*

T. T. MAO

Unlike the right-wing factions (Western Guards) that call for the total expulsion or annihilation of non-white groups in Canada, leftist cliques advocate the emancipation and liberation of all the oppressed people in Canada and the world. On the surface, the Left appears to be fighting against the same disease that Asians and other non-white groups are attempting to destroy. The battle against racism is one of the major platforms of the Left in Canada. Like the Asian movement against racism, the Left sees this deadly virus as a reinforcement of state power.

ANGLO WORKERS AND ASIANS

From the days of "coolie" labour in the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the 1880's to the recent arrival of Vietnamese settlers, the Anglo ruling elite (business, labour, government, media) has exploited Asian labour to bolster its economic and political power. Once the Chinese energy to build John A. MacDonald's needed communication link that would tie the Anglo elite from coast to coast was spent, Asian labour was now no longer needed. A series of legal restrictions were enacted telling the Asians that their place was not in Canada. At the heart of these restrictions was the prohibition of Asian women into Canada. This was a concerted attempt to restrict the birth rate of Asians. When legal restrictions were not enough, an avalanche of physical opposition emerged. At the forefront of the Anti-Asiatic movement was the Anti-Asiatic Exclusion League. Consisting of west coast racist politicians who had widespread support from the Anglo working class, their organized activities culminated in the 1907 Vancouver riots which resulted in the Chinese and Japanese communities being sacked by white workers. This overt racist attack on Asians symbolized the height of Anglo elite manipulation of the working class. Drawing on the fears of the working class that the "yellow peril" would take away jobs that were "naturally" theirs, the white workers saw the "Chinese problem" as the question of race. It was never a class question because the Anglo elite propaganda equated "whiteness" as the binding force over-riding class differences. The "diabolical" Asians posed a threat to white supremacy. The Anglo working class was a fundamental part of this evocation of white supremacy. In any economic crunch, the blame is shifted by the Anglo elite from itself to the "colour" problem.

Since the first coming of Chinese "coolie" labour, the Anglo working class has been neatly suffocated in the pockets of their Anglo masters. Even today, such propaganda as W-5's "Campus Give-away" and such supposedly respectable factions as the National Citizen's Coalition maintain the myth of Anglo supremacy. This type of propaganda reinforces racial hatred of the Anglo working class and common people of Canada towards Asians and the other "visibles". It was not coincidental that W-5's distortion of who the real foreign students were was aired just after the influx of ethnic Chinese settlers from Vietnam. W-5 and the National Citizen's Coalition are the first media examples of the backlash against Vietnamese immigration. Because the Vietnamese community is scattered, the Chinese community was the target of Anglo racism. The Chinese community itself is coherent, seemingly unified, and easily attacked because it is highly visible. No other Asian community in Canada has such a high profile. Any further racial attacks against Asians as a solid block will be directed at the Chinese or the South Asian community. While the South Asian community has been under constant siege by racists for the past decade, the fact that ethnic Chinese settlers from Vietnam are arriving opens new directions for the Anglo racists.

For the average white Canadian, the coming of Indo-Chinese immigrants brings back images of the "yellow hordes" nurtured in films and text books. They are aggrieved at a sea of "yellows" descending on a white Canada. For them, a certain number of Asians are needed to work the sewing machines, clean the houses of Anglo ladies while they have time to do "community" work, and wash the dishes of fashionable restaurants. For white supremacy to exist, a small, but energetic pool of non-white labour is necessary to demonstrate that non-whites are simply machines in the great development of Western civilization. *The coloured work with their hands while the whites work with their minds.*

By unleashing racist propaganda, the Anglo elite fortifies its links with the working class. This link is based purely on race. Despite the class lines, that archaic slogan *If you're white, you're all right* is never more evident than today. Despite poor working conditions and arbitrary legislation prohibiting strikes in certain areas,

the Anglo working class has the notion of racial purity constantly hammered into their minds and imaginations. Being white provides avenues of upward mobility. The nature of Canadian "democracy" allows the shift from working class to the professional ranks. This is the Anglo elite propaganda- "work hard, go to college, learn middle class values and success will be yours". This question of "upward mobility" was the over-riding point in W-5's "Campus Giveaway" programme. Simply put, it was telling the Anglo working class that Asians are taking the entrance positions in Canadian universities. It is up to the working class to stop this Asian inroad into our "rightful" avenue of upward mobility. Again, W-5 drew on that old fear of an "Asian threat" to the sanctity of Anglo supremacy.

Co-opted by the Anglo elite, the white working class represents an arm of racism. The workers are in the vanguard of overtly oppressing Asian and other "visibles". This is because white labour work side-by-side Asians, Blacks, and Natives. Their racism is condoned and reinforced by the Anglo elite through the use of the media. Here, the Anglo masters have told them that racism against the "visibles" is not only sanctioned. It is also good because it upholds white supremacy. For the Anglo elite and its working class, racism puts the "chinks, japs, and niggers" in their place. W-5's "Campus Giveaway" was directly aimed at the white working class and the professional aspirations for the workers' children. Simply said, it was the Anglo elite's way of saying that the "visibles" must be pushed back for working class children to succeed.

Manipulated by the Anglo elite, the working class in Canada reflects the power ideals of the ruling class. The Left has been unable to convince all the workers that upward mobility lies with monumental social and political changes. And these changes would mean destroying the old order of inequality to be replaced with an era of equality, peace and plenty for all. But, if a socialist order miraculously arrived, where would Asians, Blacks, and Natives be? It would be a socialism controlled by Anglos!

FEMINISTS, GAYS, AND ASIANS

Like the Anglo working class movement, the grievances of the Feminist and Gay movements point to the question of distinction. The workers want to transcend class lines to become part of the middle class. The Feminist and Gay movements want to abolish discrimination based on sex. Yet, both movements are Anglo conceived and inspired. Both have Left or radical and mainstream elements. The mainstream simply want equality in job opportunities and the elimination of the image of women and Gays as subordinate to men and straights. Since the racial dimension is not a deciding factor in their struggles, the oppression of Asian Feminists and Asian Gays is not a strong concern. For the Left Feminists and Gays, a radical transformation of Canadian society is the goal. But, again there is no room for Asian Feminists and Asian Gays.

The power of the Anglo Feminist rhetoric of "being Feminist is to exclude men" says nothing about the common oppression that women, Gays, and "visibles" must fight and destroy. Kathryn Fong of the *San Francisco Journal* wrote that her men-

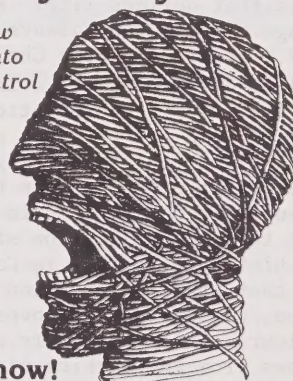
tion of the discriminatory American laws that kept Chinese men and women apart was intentionally devised by the ruling elite to prevent the birth of Asian children in America. Her comments were followed by outcries of "Please just talk about women!" For Anglo Feminists and Anglo Gays, unity or solidarity is based purely on sex and whiteness. Already part of the mainstream, Anglo Feminists simply want parity with their men-- equal pay, equal opportunities, and equal rights. For most Anglo Feminists, the nature of Canadian society needs redress, not transformation. For Anglo Gays, these are similar considerations. Radical transformation would mean the total elimination of Anglo racism. Most Anglo Feminists and Anglo Gays do not have any understanding of racism as white oppression. It is their colour that precludes.

THE ANGLO LEFT AND ASIANS

The Anglo Left has infiltrated into the Feminist and Gay movements. This is understandable because there is no colour difference, and therefore no "cultural barrier". There is now a concerted attempt on the part of the Anglo Left to capture the core of the radical (but, not Left) Asian movement (both men and women) in Canada. The central focus for the Left is the Asian struggle against racism. But the difficulty with all the Anglo radical movements (Left, Feminist, Gay) is that racism is merely a word for them. It may be intellectualized, but it is never felt. There are Anglo Feminists writing about the Anglo state co-optation of the South Asian community. There are Marxist-Leninists speaking about institutional racism in Canada. There are sociologists talking about the anatomy of racism. If these were Jewish

Don't let them pull the wool over your eyes!

For news of how people in Toronto are gaining control in their work-places, communities and personal lives, read the fortnightly *Toronto Clarion*.



Subscribe now!

Toronto Clarion

Metro's independent newspaper for social change

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____ Postal Code _____
 Bill me _____ Cheque enclosed _____
 Mail to: The *Clarion*,
 73 Bathurst Street, third floor, Toronto, Ontario M5V 2P6
Individual mail subscriptions \$12 a year. Institutional subscriptions \$25 a year

writers whose Jewishness has not died through assimilation, the credibility of their writing would not be questioned. But the Anglo Left writes without compassion or understanding about what its society has created and nourished. Being products of a racist Anglo Canada, Anglo Left works on racism serve to bring out their patterned paternalism. It is Anglos telling Asians, Blacks, and Natives what racial oppression is. This condemns us as incapable of telling our own story and about the racism that is the Anglo problem. Anglos created racism, they nourished racism, and they want to destroy non-whites with their sub-human, grotesque creation. Condescension from the Left is less palatable than paternalism from the mainstream. We expect it from the mainstream. We now expect it from those who profess friendship to our movement.

In fact, the so-called friends of the Asian movement exploit racism for their own benefits. The Anti-Racism Demonstration in October, 1979 in Toronto was a clear indication of this kind of exploitation. The clash between the ultra-right and the Left was a classic example of how extremist factions used issues of gut importance to "visibles" for their own selfish ends. By drawing attention to their own image as the "leading" right and left cliques, the Asian attempt to show that the disease of racism is widespread was discredited. The reporting in the local dailies fell willingly to this diversionary tactic.

Western newspapers have always looked for events that sell. Clashes, rather than legitimate grievances attract. The false image perpetrated by the Toronto media was a portrayal of a connection between the Left and the Asian community. There is no connection! There will never be an alliance between the Left and the Asian community mainly because the Left is Anglo dominated. Because of this Anglo component, the racial question in the Left has been side-tracked to the back of the bus. The fight against racism is not on class lines, but solely on *skin pigmentation*.

Skin colour-- nothing more! This is what divides. In Canada, it is colour, not the intellect or status that defines life. Knowledge and position can change. But colour always remains until the very end. Adoption of the Christian religion, Western values and mannerism, using Shakespeare and Bach as the artistic inspirations, or even the taking a Western man or woman as a mate will never erase the slant eyes and straight black hair.

The colour of one's skin has been used by the Left when the occasion to gain points arises. It looks at the inequalities on strict class lines. But the history of Asians in Canada poignantly demonstrates that when the question of Asian labour is the issue, class lines are overlooked in favour of skin colour. The present cry of "unfair" Asian labour comes from the working class. Here are Asians willing to work for peanuts: saving, building, but always with a hope for the future. What Asians always bring to Canada is that special *Asian Work Ethic*.

The most insidious facet of the supposed Left struggle against racism is that it declares itself a friend and ally of the oppressed. In Canada, the oppressed are the "visibles". Actions taken by minority groups against racism always draw a large contingent of the Left. The Left constantly profess sympathy and support for minority struggles.

But their depth of understanding is always clouded by the strict reliance on rhetoric bolstered by a class analysis. But class analysis presupposes a rational society that can be transformed by revolution. Racism is not a rational element, but an emotional facet of Anglo life that transcends all class lines.

WHO ARE THE FRIENDS OF THE ASIAN MOVEMENT?

Since the Anglo Left which is a "natural" ally because of its "humanism" has proved to be wanting as a reliable friend of the Asian movement in Canada, where can we look for support?

History tells us that the Chinese connection with the Soviet Union during the 1920's led only to destruction. The Soviets used the Chinese for their own benefits.

If support is to come, it must come from within. In an unconscious way, the W-5 "Campus Giveaway" programme unleashed a tidal wave of political consciousness in the Chinese and other Asian communities. Before this first overt media attempt to fan the racist flame, the Asian communities were in a state of despair, hopelessness, and helplessness. But now, the concerted attempt by the Anglo elite to mount a media campaign to spread hatred among white Canadians towards Asians and other people of colour has brought instead an identity, unity and a sense of purpose. Racial attacks on the Asian communities have brought together the most progressive elements in the Asian communities. They have provoked Asian professionals out of their comfortable hideaways to the battlefields against racism. They have nurtured the natural rebelliousness and idealism of the most advanced of the Asian student population. It is in this new found unity that a radical Asian movement found its beginnings. The constant racial attacks on the Asian psyche in Canada has brought about a reinforcement of the reality of a virile ethnic nationalism. The lessons of Quebecois nationalism has not been lost on Asianadians.

T.T. Mao has previously written for the Asianadian.

ASIANADIAN SPEAKERS' FORUM

WELCOMES INQUIRIES FROM ETHNIC GROUPS, COMMUNITY CENTRES, EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, AND OTHERS INTERESTED IN HAVING RESOURCE PERSONS SPEAK ON THE ASIAN EXPERIENCE IN CANADA. CALL 921-5856 or 961-3781

TELL US YOUR NEEDS. CONTACT THE WORKSHOP.

Dubious Award



Perhaps the Japanese are inscrutable

on
ma;
scie.

At
team
Kimiki S.
Bitti, pose
the Japan
than the En,
Shimoda
their investi,
mixed group
Japanese stud
Each partic
the following
sion: surprise, c
ority, submissi
happiness, anger,
fright. A video-ta
full-face close-up of
Next, the resear
two members of each
ing all the emotions,
all. They then showed t
dents and asked them to
tion the subjects were exp
The result: Beyond all c
ers had less success in ju
tions of the Japanese tha

by Sidney Katz Toronto Star special

onventional wisdom holds that certain
analties possess certain traits, but it's
recently that an attempt has been
validate these observations by
investigation.

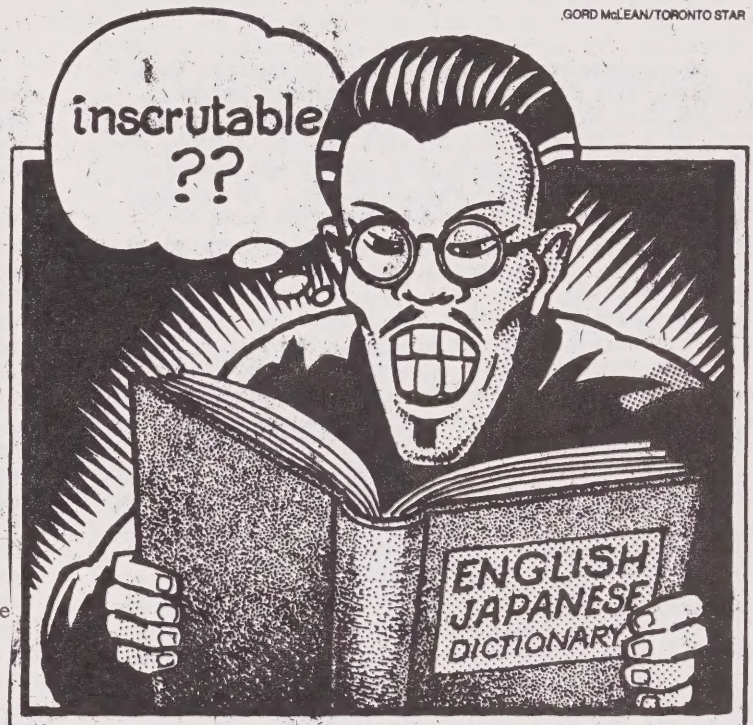
rd University, an international
searchers, which included Drs.
mpoda, Michael Argyle and Pio
d the question: "Is it true that
ese are more inscrutable, say,
glish or Italians?"

and his colleagues conducted
tion by working with a
164 English, Italian and
attending Oxford.

it was asked to portray
tions by facial expres
ression, sadness, superi
ess, hostility, disgust,
xiety, friendliness and
pe camera recorded a
each portrayal.

chers selected shots of

GORD McLEAN/TORONTO STAR



Few could really tell when the Japanese were happy or sad

The Dubious Award (or The Scrutable Occidental Award) for Winter 1979 was unanimously awarded to writer Sidney Katz and cartoonist Gord McLean of the *Toronto Star* for the article and cartoon which appeared under the headline "Perhaps the Japanese are Inscrutable" (*Sunday Star*, November 18, 1979/ A11). This award should also be shared, of course, with the editors of Canada's largest daily newspaper for permitting the publication of such blatant racism.

The offensive elements of the cartoon are certainly not veiled by ambiguity. Again, we find the same old World War II comic book caricature -- the myopic, buck-toothed, sinister, and always *inscrutable* (i.e. mysterious and incomprehensible) Japanese. The implication here is that the Japanese cannot be trusted. After all, "few could really tell when the Japanese were happy or sad".

Katz's article is equally disturbing, for it presents, without critical comment or satirization, the trivial "scientific" findings of a group of Oxford researchers who set out to prove, once and for all, that the Japanese do in fact live up to their historical image of 'inscrutability'. According to these astute social scientists, "there appears to be an unwritten law which inhibits the Japanese from expressing what they are feeling." Although a tendency towards inhibition might exist in some Japanese individuals, it is difficult to believe that this entire population of human beings cannot display the human emotions of sadness and anger in their faces.

The basic premise and methodology of this Oxford 'experiment', like many other experiments in cross-cultural psychology, is inherently fallacious and ethnocentric, as it is designed from a narrow Anglo frame of reference. In the hands of racist organizations, such 'evidence' from psychological research could be easily twisted to perpetuate the idea of white supremacy. Remember how Arthur Jensen used statistics from I.Q. tests among black-American school children during the early seventies?

It is sad to note that social scientists are still wasting time and money on meaningless studies such as the one reported by Sidney Katz in the *Sunday Star*. It is equally sad to note that Mr. Katz could not find a 'human interest story' of deeper relevance and humanity.

- Ami Chiyo Hori

THE STRUGGLE OF SOUTH ASIAN CANADIANS

M.L. Handa

The migration of South Asians to Eastern Canada, especially to Ontario, is relatively recent. Most of this migration took place in the mid-sixties, at a time when the promise of the 'land of opportunity' seemed to many that racism was a social disease confined to the United States. The general impression that Canada did not have the scar of black slavery, after all, had certain historical validity. Also, South Asians, both in the U.S. and Canadian setting, were very fond of saying that racial prejudice was against the blacks --- not against 'their kind', the browns.

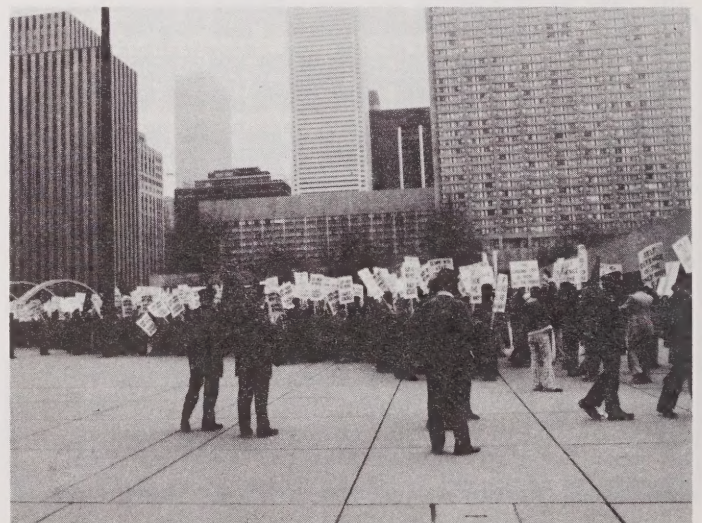
Then suddenly, like a virus, the word 'Paki' penetrated into the atmosphere after a leading daily in Toronto published an article using this derogatory expression. "Paki Stinks", "Paki Go Back Home", "If you want to kick, kick a Paki, not a dog" soon became common slurs thrown at us. There was also 'Paki Bashing' and Toronto was no longer a 'safe city' for Asian Canadians. Complacent and happy days of peaceful living came abruptly to an end.

This rise of 'Paki awareness' had a variety of effects upon the South Asian community. Two developments were significant. First, it made the South Asians, who came directly from South Asia, aware of the racial history of Canada. Those who came from Africa and the West Indies were already quite conscious of racism at that stage. It became clear that racism had deep historical roots. Immigrant minorities, one after another, have suffered. We are only the recent link in that chain of suffering and struggle which has been described as the 'Rite of Entry'. The East Indians, Chinese, Japanese, East European minorities, Jews -- each group has had a turn at being the popular target for racists; on deeper reflection, however, this view that racism is a temporary phenomenon, a 'rite' which once gone through is over, seemed to be a fallacy. It became clear to us that racism is all pervasive and that Canada is indeed a racist society. This realization was not just an intellectual argument removed from actual experience. It was a real life experience.

The second development was the responses to this threat of racism through a variety of means: speeches, association formation, conferences, demonstrations, etc. Essentially the method was one of pressure group politics and dialogue with the establishment. As for the result, the issue of 'Paki' racism got legitimized as an issue of public policy. There were series of reports and public documents. "Forward Together", a policy paper by the Ontario Government, was one of them reflecting government response.

For awhile, 'Paki Bashing' or slurs seemed to be less frequent (maybe there were reduced reports in the press). The community seemed to retreat into its 'cultural mores' of feasts and festivals. This anyhow appears to be the 'right' thing to do because it is an easy thing to do. The cultural organizations abounded: there are probably 120 cultural groups of East Indian origin. The organization with political objectives are conspicuously absent, except a few on the Marxist-Leninist front. The more mass-based ones just do not make any headway through the barricade of cultural organizations. This creates a paramount leadership crisis. While the cultural leaders flourish, the political leaders are eroded and undermined. There is little organizational unity among the diverse cultural groups, notwithstanding a federation which exists and can pride itself on holding some common functions.

The problem of 'Paki' racism has been almost solved or in the process of being solved. There is a recurrent theme among those who in the process of community struggle have been able to build some links with the establishment forces. Such a perspective, even if not valid in reality, is natural for those few who have been able to ride on the model of individual success. How many times one hears the exhortation: "Those who want to make it, can make it; no one looks to your colour"? In addition, cynical complacency has been added by the event of "Johnson shooting" and other pressures on the black community. Some in



the South Asian community feel we are back to square one. The real racism is against the blacks and not against "us", the browns, etc. There has been a conscious effort in some sectors of the community to work *against* forging a common front with the blacks in their recent struggle. 'It is their problem, not ours'; a perverted notion that 'we' have good relations with the police and government, and a cynical relief that 'if the blacks are shot, we are spared'. If this is so, then maybe nothing needs to be done. However, if this is not so, from a long term standpoint, little has changed in the racist characteristic of this country. This illusion that things are all right is a part of the way Canadian society works. To understand the pattern of racism in Canada, three elements must be kept in focus:

1. Racism is institutionalized. This means that because of the way the political selection process works, the way the labour market works, the way the Immigration policy works, the way the educational system works and the way the law enforcement agencies work (the police and the courts), the ethnic and racial minorities become discriminated against. It is important to understand that the workings of the system in producing racially and ethnically discriminatory effects are in the context of a "democratic" system. The "democratic" system provides *formal* freedom and equality for an individual but in *reality* that freedom and equality is interrupted by institutionalized mechanisms.
2. Not only do we have "Racist Social Structures which maintain racial and ethnic discrimination, we also have "Racist Consciousness" -- a mind-set to look at social reality.
3. Superimposed on the two realities is the "Liberal Mythology" which maintains that the system provides equal opportunity for all (and those who do not make it are themselves to blame).

This trio of the "Racist Structures", "Racist Consciousness" and "Liberal Mythology for Equality"

joins together to create the Canadian racist reality. Not to understand this pattern is not to comprehend the fundamental nature of the social framework in which we operate and the long-run uphill struggle, not only of minorities (who are the victims of racism), but of all those good-minded Canadians who commit themselves to create a genuinely non-racist society in Canada.

This is the reality that we as immigrants enter and begin to operate. What do we bring with us as immigrants? The most common answer is that we bring a portfolio of culture: language, dress, food habits, dance, music, traditions, etc. What is often forgotten is that immigrants from the Third World such as South Asia, also bring a political perspective. This political perspective, common to all no matter how widely we differ on the spectrum of political ideology, is that the "West did it" to the colonies. We all feel committed to a correction of the global injustice implying a correction of imbalance of power: that the Western imperialist hold should weaken and disappear and the poor ex-colonized countries should grow in strength. This conscious or latent political perspective, which history has embedded in us as victims of colonial and imperialist history, is in addition to the 'cultural portfolio' which we bring.

The central issue then is: how do the two realities interact? What is the dialectics of the two: the racist Canadian reality and the immigrants who embody both the "cultural" and "political" portfolios we have spoken of above?

We know very little about how the process of "social integration" works. There is a need for a lot of good analytical work. Roughly we can say the dialectics of these two realities in the past has generated very painful, even tragic, results for the immigrants. The system forces the immigrants to adjust; the system makes little, if any, humane accommodation. There are two well-known recipes: one is the 'melting pot', and the other is the so-called 'assimilation model', a kind of softer version of the first. In Canada the latter has been more popular. In both versions, the basic logic is that one's ethnicity is a barrier to realize fully one's potential in society. As one gives up one's ethnic portfolio and is assimilated, one will become an organic element of the society and gain fully from the system's vitality.

Closely related to this approach is the notion of "Multiculturalism". In one view, Multiculturalism is like a halting station while you prepare (or your children do) to cast off the ethnic coverings and immerse yourself into the great Canadian waters. In another perspective, it is possible to assimilate and still maintain your ethnicity: "you can eat your curry and still be a Canadian" is the kind of view that emerges.

In short, the basic idea is that there is no problem of de-institutionalizing racism because no such problems exists, although it is conceded that there is some problem of consciousness-raising, of "educating about racism". The real challenge is of assimilation that immigrants must accept.

In contrast, the past experience seems to be the following. First, when ethnic groups gave up their ethnic roots the much-promised social integration did *not* take place, i.e., while the immigrants tried to assimilate, the racial reality stood as a barrier to assimilation. The result, in other words, was marginal existence and not assimilation. Second, due to this or independent of it, ethnic roots are



far more durable than is recognized. People want to maintain their culture because this is their sense of identity. The world may be multicultural, but reality is perceived as monocultural.

This brings us to the real dilemma: many ethnic groups, including South Asians, find that there is little place for them within a racist reality. We do not want to fit into that social framework. We want to create and belong to a non-racist Canada.

Where is the non-racist Canada? It is a vision; it does not exist. Once we reach this conclusion we find that we oppressed ethnics have been forced to think of a very lofty ideal, a new dream for Canada. This is the destiny of every oppressed group once it becomes aware of its oppression and begins to change these conditions.

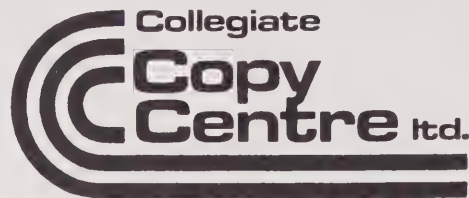
Are we not reminded of how Martin Luther King inevitably sang out, recapturing the cry of unfilled black slaves, "I have dreamt a dream for America"? While a minority is destined to dream of the best ideals and work for them, its dream cannot be sectarian. It must capture the highest aspirations of the majority. Minority must inflame the majority, with the dream of a non-racist Canada and whatever goes with it to make it. The majority of Canadian society does not gain from racism; they are only victims of racist ideas. It is pathetic that some people believe that to be a real Canadian means to be a white Canadian.

It is an uphill struggle and very little has changed about the racist Canadian reality. But given the progressive, humanitarian and democratic forces within the white majority, we, of course, can work to create a better Canada. But to say this much is only to state a broad outlook. What are the concrete tasks which can be done by the South Asian community? What role should leadership play?

There is one immediate challenge to work with the younger generation (those who are growing up here). They are facing the same life-destroying forces which Canadian youth itself is facing. Maybe, in fact, ethnic youth is surviving better because of family ties. What we need is to work to create a *critical* understanding of the social order in which we live and what it does: drug culture, suicide, violence, family break-up, consumerism, alienation etc. and search for inner individual and social resources to cope with this life-destructive process. On November 10th this year, Immigration Aid Services held a conference of Indian educators where some fifty teachers came together. Such groups can work with the youth. There should be a joining of the struggle in Vancouver and the West with the struggle in Toronto. Creation of such a chain of leadership is already overdue.

Lastly, there is a need to forge a unity among organizations and a need for political dialogue with a view to formulating a definite programme. We must remember that racism will come to haunt us and in the near future, with the wave of conservatism sweeping through western societies, it will be worse. We must work together now!

M.L. Handa is an Associate Professor at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, and is the President of the Canadian Asian Studies Association.



233 COLLEGE ST., TORONTO 598-1818
PHOTOCOPIES

1st thru 10th copies per original	11th & additional copies per original
---	---

7¢	+ P.S.T.	3¢
	+ P.S.T.	

**OFFICE-SUPPLIES
STATIONERY**

OFFSET PRINTING

- LETTERHEADS
- ENVELOPES
- BUSINESS CARDS
- NEWSLETTERS
- FLIERS
- etc...etc..



**METRO TORONTO
WOMEN'S
CREDIT
UNION**

FINANCIAL SERVICES FOR WOMEN

- | | |
|-------------|-----------------|
| • RRSPs | • Savings |
| • RHOSPs | • Term deposits |
| • Education | • Loans |

**JOIN US AT 15 BIRCH AVENUE
PHONE US AT 960-0322**

PLEASE SEND ME INFORMATION

Name

Address

Send to:
**METRO TORONTO WOMEN'S
CREDIT UNION LIMITED
P.O. Box 595, Station F
Toronto, Ontario M4Y 2L8**

The Filipino Typhoon and The Marcos Regime

V. DeLeon

It was half past eleven in the morning, September 20, 1979. Placard-bearing people lined up before the Philippines Consulate at 111 Avenue Road in Toronto. One of the placards read: "7 Years of Martial Law, 7 Years of Repression". Indeed, it has been that long since President Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law over the entire Philippines and set into motion the most brutal post-war regime ever to be recorded in the history of that country.

Backed by his U.S.- funded military, Marcos wielded absolute power in dismantling democratic institutions such as the press and the courts. With the loss of these institutions, Filipino society became more polarized than it ever was before --- workers, peasants, students and progressive sectors of the Church on one side and the Marcos regime, foreign multinationals, Marcos cronies and other supporters of the regime, including, of course, U.S. bases on the other side.

In one swift stroke, Marcos had hoped to decapitate the growing national democratic forces that were literally breaking down the gates of the Malacanang Palace at the turn of the decade. He imprisoned thousands of activists, elite oppositionists, workers, Church progressives and journalists.

One of these journalists was Ruben Cusipag. Seven years ago, he was interviewing anti-Marcos demonstrators. Today, he is being interviewed by a CITYPULSE reporter in Toronto. After his release from prison, he managed to leave the Philippines and arrived in Toronto in 1974, ready to continue the anti-Marcos struggle through the power of the printed word. Trained in the traditional style of "objective reporting", a term he now eschews and finds objectionable, he put into practice the political journalism demanded by the times. He edits and publishes the BALITA, a Filipino community newspaper which reflects the unifying imperative that propels the anti-martial law elements in Toronto, a struggle for human rights denied by the Marcos regime.

Ruben Cusipag found allies in Toronto. In fact, some Filipinos have already formed an *ad hoc* committee to forge an alliance with other groups based on

opposition to Martial Law. It was a spontaneous group. Some members were still tied to old political notions which were in line with the thoughts of former senator Raul Manglapus, a member of the opposition elite party emasculated by the Marcos regime. For the most part, these members believed in the return to the old political system --- a corrupt system which favoured the landed few over the 90 % poor, perpetuated a lopsided economy subservient to the U.S. and other foreign interests. Freedom of the press and free elections were superficially maintained, but only to cover the internal rot. These were the institutions that the pro-Manglapus members wanted to return to, but under the leadership of Marcos' traditional opposition leaders, including Manglapus himself.

In 1975, the group invited Manglapus from the U.S. to speak in Toronto. By this time, the group, calling itself the Canada Philippines Friendship Society (C.P.F.S.), included Ging Hernandez who is now its chairman. Manglapus headed the Movement for a Free Philippines (M.F.P.) and invited the C.P.F.S. to become his outpost in Toronto. The group was divided on this matter and decided to maintain its independence. However, this split led to the development of an M.F.P. chapter comprised of Manglapus supporters. Like Manglapus, this Toronto Chapter, now virtually defunct, held a palpable disdain for the more progressive C.P.F.S. members, calling the latter "communists". Without the progressives, the Manglapus M.F.P. in Toronto faced an early demise.

Ruben Cusipag would later describe life for the remnants of both the moderate and progressive wings of the C.P.F.S. as "without direction". This stage of stagnation lasted until the fall of 1976. Fely Cusipag, Ruben's wife and an unofficial photographer for the IAFP picket, went to San Francisco for the Anti-Martial Law Coalition Conference (A.M.L.C.). Brimming with enthusiasm, she returned to Toronto to report that the A.M.L.C. was the ideal coalition, bringing together all anti-martial law forces-- right opposition, moderates, and progressives-- to participate in a coordinated program of consciousness-raising among Filipinos, U.S. and Canadian citizens.

That same year, the C.P.F.S. unanimously voted to join the A.M.L.C. The rejuvenated C.P.F.S.

headed by Ging Hernandez, held a mass in October for the political prisoners in the Philippines. The Christmas of 1976 witnessed the carolling of members at the houses of Filipino sympathizers in order to raise funds for the families of political prisoners and the Bukluran. (The Bukluran is a workers' group on whose behalf the Association of Major Religious Superiors wrote the A.M.L.C. for financial support.)

In the summer of 1977, the A.M.L.C. in Canada confronted the other half of the conjugal dictatorship. Imelda Marcos, as an "expert" on human settlements, arrived in Vancouver to speak at the Habitat Conference. Hundreds of angry people led by the A.M.L.C. and the Filipino supporters defied police and jeered at Imelda Marcos, the Minister of Human Settlements, because her vicious measures forced the relocation of thousands of slum dwellers.

The C.P.F.S.'s furious activities in Toronto, of course, caught the eye of the RCMP. Two uniformed men visited leaders Hernandez and the Cusi-pags. Although affronted by the unusual visitation, the three leaders treated the men with courtesy and no unnecessary problem arose from this first experience with the law.

At about this time (1977), Philippine Consulates in Toronto as well as in other parts of the world waged rumour-mongering attacks characterized by red-baiting. Pro-martial law elements in the community, usually through the use of the ethnic press, collaborated with the consulate in these attacks. However, it was the C.P.F.S. (and the I.A.F.P. later on) that has been on the offensive. While it is too soon to say how great the influence the Toronto activists have made on the Filipino community, it cannot be denied that the presence of a consciousness counter to that of martial law effectively neutralized the propaganda actions of the Philippine Embassy.

To cite an instance, in 1978 a new ambassador was sent to Ottawa: Ramon Del Rosario. A new consulate was set up at 111 Avenue Rd. with Leovigildo Anolin as Consul. Along with these changes, a Marcos propaganda paper, *Philippine News Bulletin*, found its way to the mailboxes of Filipinos and to Filipino stores. It became apparent that the voice of the anti-martial law movement had reached the ears of Malacanang. The new personnel and a more aggressive propaganda policy reflected the Marcos regime's concern over its deteriorating image abroad -- thanks to the A.M.L.C. The embassy came under continuous and scathing attacks from the A.M.L.C. counter propaganda. Both the *Balita* and the *Tinig* newspapers coordinated to print exposure after exposure of insidious attempts by the embassy people to bring various Filipino community groups under their influence.

Last June 12, 1979 the Consulate and some Filipino community "leaders" attempted to control the celebration of a historical date in Philippine history. June 12, 1898 the Philippines declared its independence from Spain. The "independence" was short lived for it was quickly aborted by U.S. treachery and military suppression of the revolution. The Consulate now attempted to preempt leadership of the celebration by calling it Philippine Independence Day -- a direct distortion of history and present-day conditions at home.



 LES
ÉDITIONS
TAO

presents a

1980 Art Calendar

by

LAU TIN-YUM

Including 13 reproductions of original works by the artist.

20 cm by 28 cm

\$5.00

Les Editions Tao
P.O. Box 55, Station E
Montreal, Quebec H2T 3A5

The Asianadian Resource Workshop
P.O. Box 1256, Station Q
Toronto, Ontario M4T 2P4

The A.M.L.C. worked to defuse a potentially dangerous situation in which the Consulate was trying to use a cultural festivity as a propaganda platform for the Marcos' "New Society". The A.M.L.C. and friendly Filipino groups declared the 12th of June the Philippine National Day. On a Saturday before the 12th, hundreds of Filipinos joined in the celebration of Philippine National Day. Noted for their absence were the officials of the Philippine Consulate. Anolin did come but only to leave after observing that no special place was reserved for him in the day's program. It was an unqualified success for all the Filipinos who did not want to hear any more sales talk about Marcos' "New Society" from its mouthpiece in Ottawa and at 11 Avenue Road.

Although the C.P.F.S. and other alliances of the A.M.L.C. have undoubtedly been successful in discrediting the Marcos Regime, they suffered a serious drawback. They had no clear answer to the oft-repeated question: After Martial Law is abolished, then what? The C.P.F.S. in Toronto filled the need for a united struggle against the regime but it could offer no alternative solution.

This situation is due to the fact that, while on the one hand, the various members of the C.P.F.S. shared the common objective of abolishing martial law, on the other hand they had no consensus on the political-economic character of Philippine society upon the termination of Martial law. As far as the short term goal of destroying the martial law regime was concerned, the A.M.L.C. formed the most effective united front. But there was a need to offer alternatives to dictatorship and at this point the C.P.F.S. has its limitations.

None were more acutely aware of this problem than the progressive element in the C.P.F.S. The feeling was shared among like-minded people in the A.M.L.C. A new group was born in the fall of 1977 in a Scarborough house where activists from San Francisco, Oakland, Chicago, Montreal, Vancouver and Toronto met to discuss the problem of an alternative to both the old colonial and present coercive structures.

Some time ago the National Democratic Front in the Philippines solidified opposition against Marcos. It included Church, labour, peasant, student, intellectual and other political groups. It had signalled to activist groups in the U.S. the need for international support in their struggle against not only the Marcos regime but also against the foreign multinationals (particularly the U.S. and Japan) and the International Monetary Fund. These institutions underwrote the economic policy of the Marcos regime. The Front singled out U.S. military aid as the primary source of the logistics that prop up the Marcos regime.

In answer to this call, the group in Scarborough called itself the International Association of Filipino Patriots (I.A.F.P.). The alternative that many Filipinos abroad were asking for was clear-cut: destruction of the martial law apparatus and the setting up of a coalition government based on a truly democratic form of representation. They also demanded the nullification of all unequal treaties such as those underwritten by the U.S. and all unequal trade arrangements. The "ten-point program" called for the nationalization of wealth and the establishment of an authentic land reform program. It supports the struggles for self-determination by

national minorities -- with strong support for the M.N.L.F. struggle in Mindanao.

The Association (I.A.F.P.) attracted support quickly from representatives of national liberation groups. In Toronto progressive elements from the Church, workers and students showed up regularly at public discussions and programs held by the I.A.F.P.

The I.A.F.P. printed the *Tinig* (Voice) in June 1978. The first issue was a bombshell in the community. It protested the anticipated arrival of Imelda Marcos (again!) at the Canadian National Exhibition that summer. The Philippines was the CNE's featured country and it was up to the featured country's government to send a representative. Obviously the Marcos regime was intent on landing Imelda somewhere in Canada, though not in Vancouver, but somewhere safe from activists. *Tinig*'s July issue continued its protest, calling Imelda's visit a propaganda attempt to popularize the repugnant New Society in Toronto. By this time the regime had got wind of a build-up of a contending force awaiting Imelda Marcos at the CNE grounds. Imelda never came.

The *Tinig* quickly built its name as the "underground Filipino paper". Its mass circulation, by hand and mail and through Filipino stores, far outstripped the dissemination of the Marcos' *Philippine News Bulletin*.

The entire anti-martial law movement abroad can be represented by the Anti-Martial Law Coalition. The Coalition, in turn, is composed of different tactical alliances -- middle, left and even some right members -- situated in cities populated by large numbers of Filipinos. The I.A.F.P. is a member of the Coalition.

However, while the Coalition's objective is to see the end of the martial law apparatus, the I.A.F.P.'s political objective is not only destroying the Marcos regime and other similar regimes that might succeed it, but also supporting the National Democratic Front. It looks forward to the establishment of national democracy in the Philippines.

Both the A.M.L.C. and the I.A.F.P. have their nerve centres in Oakland, California. Rene Cruz coordinates the A.M.L.C. The I.A.F.P. is coordinated by three chapter heads democratically elected by all the I.A.F.P. chapter heads. Every year both organizations hold separate conferences where the following year's program of action is deliberated upon by

Come Back to Personalized Service

LEE'S FRESH MEAT

3438 Yonge St.

Phone: 481-1405

all the chapters. Once decisions are made, each chapter follows the program in a disciplined fashion allowing changes where local conditions demand.

Thus on Sept. 22, the 7th anniversary of martial rule, protest actions went up simultaneously across Canada and the United States. In Toronto, both the C.P.F.S. and the I.A.F.P. along with their supporters shouted defiance at the consular officials lurking in the lobby of 111 Avenue Rd. furtively looking out from behind the glass panes.

A year ago at the Philippine Embassy in Ottawa, both groups expressed their outrage against the regime's sixth year. But at that time the reaction from the Embassy had been different. The Embassy officials ordered the police to write down the names of the activists.

Here in Toronto the consulate offices were quiet. It appears that at least for now the A.M.L.C. (that is, both the IAFP and the CPFS) has succeeded in neutralizing the Consulate. It has reached a

point where someone could hear Consul Anolin despair over that fact that he can't support the Martial Law regime in public anymore. As the picketers disbanded, Fely Cusipag, head of the I.A.F.P. Toronto Chapter, remarked that the show of support from both Filipinos and Canadians was overwhelming despite the intimidating RCMP and Consulate cameras.

Seven years of martial law and seven years of repression are finally paying off, not only in the numbers joining the ranks of the New People's Army in the Philippines but in the numbers in the Filipino community who have come to trust the A.M.L.C. as their voice and their consciousness against the deliberate attempts of the Marcos regime to export its New Society abroad.

V. Deleon is a co-editor of Tinig and an active member of the International Association of Filipino Patriots.

A MAGAZINE FOR ALL REASONS

CATCH THE FEVER!!

SUBSCRIBE NOW

Yes, I would like to treat myself to a new Asian Canadian sensibility.
Please send me:

One year subscription (4 issues)

- ☐ \$4.00 Canada - individual (Add \$1.50 for U.S. and overseas.)
- ☐ \$6.00 Institutions - Canada (Add \$1.50 for U.S. and overseas.)

Name _____

Address _____

Two year subscriptions (8 issues)

- ☐ \$7.00 Canada - individual (Add \$3.00 for U.S. and overseas.)
- ☐ \$12.00 Institutions - Canada (Add \$3.00 for U.S. and overseas.)

City _____ Prov/State _____

Postal/Zip Code _____

- ☐ \$50.00 Lifetime subscription!

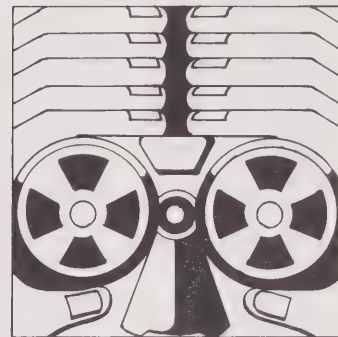
- () payment enclosed
() please invoice
() here is my donation for \$ _____

To start: Volume _____ No. _____

Please make cheques or money orders payable to: *The Asianadian*
P.O. Box 1256, Station "Q"
Toronto, Ontario M4T 2P4 Canada

Face to Face

With Ruben Cusipag



RUBEN J. CUSIPAG is the publisher of the Filipino community newspaper Balita and the anti-Marcos political newspaper Tinig, as well as the co-ordinator of the Canada Asia Working Group --- an organization set up by various church groups to fight for human rights in Asia.

Cusipag's career began in 1960 when he dropped out from his B.A. programme at the University of Philippines to become a reporter for the Manila Evening News. For the next ten years, he worked at the foreign desk and travelled widely to Israel, Cambodia, and to China during the peak of the Cultural Revolution. He also covered various domestic issues as labour, multinational corporations, politics, as well as working in the police beat.

In 1972, he joined a Filipino language newspaper called Taliba. During his tenure with this newspaper, his political outlook changed quite radically. As a relatively unknown journalist without strong political conviction, he was jailed in September 1972 when President Marcos declared martial law in the Philippines. (Later, he admitted that "there was nothing that I had done which would merit putting me in jail".) When he was released 67 days later, with some of the big name journalists in Manila at that time, he had undergone a political transition and became a "journalist with a conscience" and an anti-Marcos activist.

Discontented with the repressive political situation at home, Cusipag applied for immigration to Canada in 1973. He arrived a year later after spending a great deal of time obtaining permission to leave his own country. Upon arrival in Canada, he became the editor of the Newfoundland Signal, and later the editor of Atin Ito, before starting his own publications. In the political sphere, he is a member of the International Association of Filipino Patriots, an active anti-Marcos organization with affiliation throughout North America and Europe.

Politics and community work have become a way of life for Cusipag. His days are spent between offices and newspaper deadlines. Despite his busy schedule, he found time to talk to the Asianadian about his community involvement and his political life.



ASTANADIAN: You started your career as a journalist 20 years ago, and have now become a political activist and a community organizer. Have you ever regretted this transition?

CUSIPAG: No. My background built up to this. Working just for money is shameful. The question is, what do you really want to do? In my case, I believe that real democracy can only come about when people are able to have their say in their own destiny. The democracy in the Philippines is a paper democracy. The government does not represent the majority of the people --- the peasants and workers. What we want is a national democracy.

ASTANADIAN: Are you happy with what you are doing now?

CUSIPAG: I have no regrets. I am a different person now than what I was seven years ago. I think it's good to change one's political affiliation and one's interest to coincide with the people's interest. At first, you can be unpopular. You can be called a Communist or a subversive. But I feel that I am doing the right thing now.

ASTANADIAN: So you have become more politically active since you arrived in Canada.

CUSIPAG: Yes. I am very active in the Filipino community right now, especially with *Balita*, the newspaper I publish. *Balita* is able to tackle the issues in the community.

ASIANADIAN: *What kind of issues are you talking about here ?*

CUSIPAG: When we started *Balita*, our initial story exposed the double taxation treaty between the Philippines and Canada. It affects all Filipino immigrants in Canada. We are also against racism. A more recent issue, for instance, is the gradual entry into Canada of Filipino domestic help. A case of exploitation of workers.

ASIANADIAN: *The political atmosphere in Canada condones this kind of political movement and helps political activists like yourself, for it is not possible for you to conduct the same kind of activities in your former country.*

CUSIPAG: Well, Canada supposedly has this political freedom that we don't find in our own country. But, here too, the RCMP comes around to take your pictures.

ASIANADIAN: *Were you ever harrassed by the RCMP?*

CUSIPAG: There is a certain kind of subtle harrassment.

ASIANADIAN: *What kind?*

CUSIPAG: Well, for example, when Mrs. Marcos spoke at a conference in Vancouver two years ago, the RCMP visited me. This very nice looking chap showed up and presented his identification. He began by telling me that I was one of the more knowledgeable persons in the Filipino community and wanted to know if I was aware of any talk or plan to assassinate Mrs. Marcos. So I asked him point blank, "Do you think I could be one of them?" Human rights are respected in this country, but we cannot overlook the fact that these rights have been gradually eroded.

ASIANADIAN: *What is the Filipino community like in Canada?*

CUSIPAG: There are about 80,000 Filipinos in Canada, 35,000 of them are in Toronto. The second largest concentration is in Winnipeg, followed by Vancouver and Montreal. There are also Filipino communities in Ottawa, Sudbury, Windsor, Sarnia, St. Catharines, Edmonton, Calgary, even Newfoundland. There are about 500 of us in Newfoundland.

ASIANADIAN: *Do you consider yourself the spokesman for the Filipino community?*

CUSIPAG: As editor of *Balita*, I do not claim to represent the community. But I do speak on the community's behalf. *Balita*, for example, represents a certain political viewpoint, and the majority of the Filipinos agree with us. But they are the silent majority because they are afraid of what we called the "long arms of martial law".

ASIANADIAN: *How is your relationship with the community?*

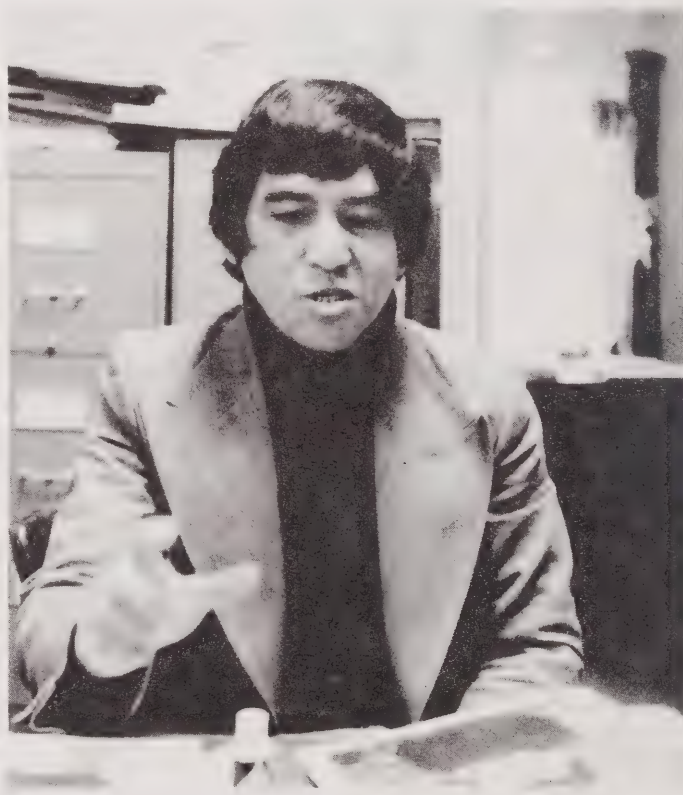
CUSIPAG: Before we went into community work, people were scared to deal with us. Although we take a certain political stance, we do not impose this view on other social organizations. We respect the integrity of every social organization, but we also expect them not to allow themselves to be used as tools of the Filipino government. To some extent, we have succeeded. We have gained respect from the community. There are a number of Filipino newspapers in Canada. I would say *Balita* is number one in readership.

ASIANADIAN: *What has Balita done for the community?*

CUSIPAG: Our prime consideration is to educate the Filipinos, to expose what needs to be exposed and to praise what needs to be praised. *Balita* has a reputation of being very critical on issues. We cannot say that everything is fine and dandy with the community, otherwise, we would just be fooling ourselves.

ASIANADIAN: *How also are you serving the community?*

CUSIPAG: We are also one of the most effective fund-raisers in the community. For example, we recently tried to help a Filipino seaman who lost his legs in an accident in Sarnia, Ontario. We not only helped him out, but we feel that his situation can be used as an educational tool to demonstrate the exploited conditions of the Filipino seamen.



ASIANADIAN: How would you characterize the present Filipino communities in Canada?

CUSIPAG: The Filipinos started coming to Canada in 1965. Many of them are professionals with training back home. At first they were underemployed, but eventually, they went back to the same level of jobs that they had before. They are hardworking; many of them have left the Philippines for economic reasons. Many of them are in private businesses. I have yet to see anyone on welfare. I guess you can say they are very materialistic. They buy houses and cars, but they should be more concerned with social issues. Many of them have taken up Canadian citizenship.

ASIANADIAN: Why aren't all of them applying for Canadian citizenship?

CUSIPAG: Some of them would like to go back home when the political climate is right. Especially the senior citizens; they find the situation here very hard. Many know that they will eventually end up in an old age home.

ASIANADIAN: Don't you think that this kind of mentality further reinforces the accusation that many Asians are sojourners, that they come here to make enough money and then go back home to their countries and that they really do not have a desire to stay in Canada, to work and live as Canadians and to contribute to this country?

CUSIPAG: I don't think that there will be a loss to the Canadian economy when these people go back to the Philippines. They have contributed a lot to the Canadian economy during their productive years. Like other immigrants, they have taken on jobs that other Canadians don't want. In turn, they have been good consumers. They plough back what they have earned to the economy.

ASIANADIAN: You are talking about this in economic terms. What about in political terms? What of citizenship and allegiance to this country?

Cusipag: You've got to be realistic about it. They are first generation Filipinos in Canada. Even if they adopt Canadian citizenship, many of them are still loyal to their home country. They are not an ungrateful race; they know that they owe Canada so much. They are loyal Canadians but at the same time they are loyal Filipinos.

ASIANADIAN: What about the younger generations?

CUSIPAG: The time will come when my children, and my children's children will no longer have ties to the Philippines. That's normal.

ASIANADIAN: Do you see this as a threat to the community? To the family?

CUSIPAG: That's part of integration. They will soon be "Canadians" and speak "Canadian". Although, in the long-run, they cannot deny the fact that they are still Filipino Canadians. Let's face it, we are second class citizens in this country; the colour barrier is still very difficult to cross.



ASIANADIAN: What about the Filipino culture? How do you categorize the Filipino culture?

CUSIPAG: It is a combination of Malay, Spanish, and American cultures.

ASIANADIAN: What is culture to you? Food, song, dance?

CUSIPAG: Culture is a way of life. It is an outlook of life and it is also political in nature.

ASIANADIAN: Can this be taken away from you?

CUSIPAG: Through the years, yes. The fact is, there is no distinct Canadian culture that you can speak of right now. So the thing to ask is, "Is there a definite Canadian identity"? In the Philippines, we used to ask that too. Hopefully, the multicultural policy will help preserve the diverse culture found in this country. Clark's government has somehow downplayed the multiculturalism aspect of Canadian life. As far as culture is concerned, it is not for the government to direct it; it is up to the people to shape it.

ASIANADIAN: What is the relationship between the Filipinos and other ethnic communities in Toronto? Should there be more communication among Asians groups?

CUSIPAG: Basically, each group has its own priorities and problems. It is sometimes difficult to talk to each other on a common ground. Nevertheless there should definitely be a dialogue among us. There is certainly a need for Asianadian. Each one

of us must first graduate to a stage whereby we have become Asianadians by automatic identity. It will take a long time.

ASIANADIAN: *The Asianadian has been criticized for its advocacy of the Asian identity. People ask, why don't you start mingling with the majority society, why further "ghettoize" yourself as Asians?*

CUSIPAG: It is a matter of identity and reality. We are Asians. We need to interact and organize effectively among Asians first, before we can effectively blend with other Canadians. It is a process of growth that we cannot eliminate. To bloom and flourish as Canadians, we must first acknowledge our roots. Filipinos, Asianadians, Canadians.

ASIANADIAN: *You said it is up to the people to tell the government what they want. What would you do when there are only 35,000 of you versus two million in Metro Toronto? Your culture will survive as long as the governing body thinks it is a good policy. What would you do when you wake up one day and find out that the multiculturalism policy is scrapped and everybody is forced to assimilate?*

CUSIPAG: This is where political participation comes in. We have to start with the electoral process. Vote, take part in the debate and run for public office. I'd like to think that the Filipinos are responsible for the election of the Alderman and the M.P. in the Jamieson area here in Toronto where there is a large concentration of Filipinos.



ASIANADIAN: *The Italians, for example, have a lot of political clout in Canadian politics. What about the Asians?*

CUSIPAG: We have to organize our community first. We're small in numbers but we have to make the politicians aware of the Asian votes.

ASIANADIAN: *Can the Asians unite together to form a voting block?*

CUSIPAG: I am optimistic about it. It might take a long time though.

ASIANADIAN: *Turning to the world in general, as a journalist, how do you see the global situation in the eighties? People in Canada are very preoccupied with the Middle East and Europe. What about Asia? How do you see it?*

CUSIPAG: There are three political powers in the world now -- the U.S., Russia and China. Increasingly, the world is becoming divided along the socialist and capitalist lines.

ASIANADIAN: *What about the Philippines?*

CUSIPAG: Philippines is in the capitalist camp now, but I see it going to the socialist camp.

ASIANADIAN: *And the other developing nations too?*

CUSIPAG: Yes.

ASIANADIAN: *Why?*

CUSIPAG: As long as they are exploited by the rich countries, poor countries will remain poor. This is the nature of international economic order. You cannot overthrow the economic domination of rich countries by staying in the capitalist camp. I see a different kind of social system for each country. Philippines will have its own system, not the China model nor the Russian model.

ASIANADIAN: *How do you classify yourself?*

CUSIPAG: Left.

ASIANADIAN: *Extreme left? Moderate left?*

CUSIPAG: Moderate left. I am not dogmatically immersed in any ideology. I have read many theories, from Marx to Keynes. The main thing is not to latch on to a label but work for an idea. We must be attuned to the objective conditions of the country which we are working for.

ASIANADIAN: *In other words, have an open mind.*

CUSIPAG: Yes, have an open mind.

Heritage Reviews

THE WAR MEASURES ACT:

1914 – 1979

An Historical Evaluation

Canadians have lived with the War Measures Act for sixty-five years. Passed in 1914 by the government of Robert Borden, the War Measures Act gives the Federal Cabinet the general power to make orders and regulations in the event of a real or *apprehended* war, invasion or insurrection for the security, defence, peace, order and welfare of Canada.

In addition to this overall general power, the cabinet has specific powers including censorship, control of all means of communication, arrest, detention, exclusion and deportation of any person, transportation, trading and the appropriation of property. Under the wide powers of the War Measures Act the federal government could replace provincial legislatures and amend the criminal laws at will.

In this historical evaluation of the War Measures Act, I intend to show that this extremely anti-civil libertarian legislation has outlived any purpose that it might have had and that it should be stricken from our statute books.

EFFECTS OF THE WAR MEASURES ACT:

1) *The Japanese Experience*

On February 24, 1942, the Cabinet of MacKenzie King passed the first of a series of Orders-in-Council that were to strip Japanese Canadians of all their "rights". All persons of Japanese origin were forced to leave their homes, schools, jobs and possessions and relocated in remote areas of northern British Columbia. Uprooted in unfamiliar surroundings, constantly under the surveillance of armed guards, forbidden to publish newspapers in their native tongue, the Japanese were defenseless, humiliated and anxious as to what the future would bring.

For the period of seven years (1942 to April, 1949) when federal control over the daily lives of Japanese Canadians ended, 21,000 Japanese Canadians had been forced from their homes, incarcerated in prison camps--and had all their properties and possessions confiscated and sold by the federal government for approximately one-tenth of their real value.

Pursuant to an Order-in-Council, property of Japanese Canadians was held in trust. However, further to a subsequent Order-in-Council, this prop-

erty was sold to the highest bidder before the Japanese were permitted to return to the West Coast.

In the spring of 1945, Japanese Canadians were given the choice either to relocate east of the Rockies or to go to Japan. Given that the Japanese Canadians had no homes or jobs to return to--that several provinces had refused to allow Japanese Canadians to resettle in their jurisdictions, approximately 4,000 (approximately 25% of the total Japanese Canadian population) relocated to war decimated Japan, a country that most of them had never known.

The Result

No Japanese Canadian was ever charged with any act of sabotage or disloyalty during the war years, yet they were "imprisoned" for almost seven years. The economic loss of an entire lifetime's work, the ignominy of being of Japanese origin, the indefensible treatment during the War Years, have no doubt left psychological scars that will be carried by the interned to their graves.

2) *The Quebec Experience*

On October 16, 1970, Pierre Trudeau re-imposed the War Measures Act on the Canadian people because of a hostage-taking killing that could have been handled by the Criminal Code. Kidnapping (Section 247), murder (Section 212), possession of prohibited weapons (Section 88) are all adequately covered by the Criminal Code.

The Result

Three hundred and seventy-two persons were arrested and many were released without charges being laid. Many of those arrested were popular artists who were supporters of Quebecois nationalism, active trade unionists and "leftists".

The "national emergency and political insurrection" of the "October Crisis" permitted massive police and army searches throughout Quebec. A total of 33 fire arms and 21 other "offensive" weapons (including nine hand knives and one sabre) were discovered. This "cache" of weapons was described as one of the most insignificant finds for an armed guerrilla movement.

Was the Cross affair an "apprehended insurrection" of national proportions that threatened the security, order and welfare of Canada? The true story of the FLQ kidnapping may never be known. But it now appears that the FLQ had been infiltrated by RCMP agents who were active members. The role that these RCMP agents played as agents "provocateurs" will be important in any evaluation of the October Crisis and of the subsequent invocation of the War

Measures Act.

CONCLUSION:

It has been said that "the price of liberty is eternal vigilance". Canadian society is founded on a common belief that an individual should be entitled to make a life that he/she wishes, consistent with society, regardless of his/her race or political beliefs.

In an evaluation of the circumstances surrounding the invocations of the War Measures Act, and of the actions and the results following the invocations, it is clear that the use of the War Measures Act has been indefensible.

Surely, the decision to deprive a racial group of all its rights or to impose martial law on an entire country should require large scale public discussion and over-riding factual considerations. Hopefully, we all know how dangerous this law can be when imposed. Hopefully we will not let history ever repeat itself.

Maryka Omatsu (M.A., L.L.B.) is a civil rights lawyer in Toronto and is also working for the Canadian Human Rights Commission.

CANADA
DEPARTMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE
OFFICE OF THE CUSTODIAN
JAPANESE EVACUATION SECTION

808 ROYAL BANK BLDG.
HASTINGS AND GRANVILLE
VANCOUVER, B. C.

December 6, 1947.

Mr. Yasutaro SAKAMOTO,
Registration No. 12861,
Donald, B. C.

Dear Sir:

We are in receipt of your letter of the 2nd instant, and in accordance with your request, we are enclosing herewith a statement of your account with the Custodian.

Yours truly,


W. JOHNSTON
OFFICE OF THE CUSTODIAN

WJJ/HMS
Enc. (1)

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT.

Yasutaro SAKAMOTO

File No. 8645
Reg. No. 12861

	<u>Date</u>	<u>Particulars</u>	<u>Debit</u>	<u>Credit</u>	<u>Balance</u>
1942	December 28	Proceeds derived from sale of car		\$117.79	
1943	January 1	Credit re sale of property		736.00	
		Certificate of Encumbrance	1.00		
		Unexpired insurance policy premium		10.92	
		Tax Arrears	76.10		
		Registration Fee	3.00		
	July 21	Buckerfields Ltd. payment in full of account	40.00		
		Royal Columbian Hospital payment in full of account	40.00		
		Dr. A. Rose payment in full of acct.	20.00		
		Dr.A.McBurney payment in full of acct.	28.50		
		Dr.C.S.Simpson payment in full of account	30.00		
		W. H. Berry payment in full of acct.	45.06		
		W. F. Quarrie & Co. payment in full of account	61.50		
1944	May 20	Return premium on policy covering household equipment		1.30	
	June 17	Cheque to you	45.00		
	June 21	Settlement of claim-Kitaro IOKI	50.00		
	August 2	Settlement of claim-Unezo OTO	150.00		
	August 2	Settlement of claim-Sansuke KAWAMOTO	121.00		
	August 2	Settlement of claim-Seizen OYAMA	100.00		
1945	April 23	Legal fees re sale of property	15.00		
1947	May 8	Cheque to you	39.85		
			\$866.01	866.01	

CR: Nil.

The Foreign Threat That Never Was!

Cheuk Kwan

"Here is a scenario that would make a great many people in this country angry and resentful. Suppose your son or daughter wanted to be an engineer, or a doctor, or a pharmacist. Suppose he had high marks in high school, and that you could pay the tuition... but he still couldn't get into university in his chosen courses because a foreign student was taking his place. Well, that is exactly what is happening in this country..."

So began Helen Hutchinson on September 30th, 1979 in a segment on CTV network's W-5 newspaper entitled "Campus Giveaway". What followed were twelve minutes of what many have called "malicious and irresponsible" journalism -- a programme that was designed to incite racial discrimination and prejudice against visible minorities in general, and the Chinese Canadians in particular.

Briefly, the programme depicted foreign students taking away the rightful places of Canadians in our universities -- especially in such employment-oriented courses as pharmacy, engineering, computer science, and medicine. The programme's contention can be summarized into four main points: there are too many foreign students in our universities, the foreign students are a burden to Canadian tax payers, a majority of these foreign students are Chinese (read Asians, read visible minorities), and that something must be done about this situation.

Careful analysis of the transcript from the programme shows that the facts, figures, statistics and scenarios presented by W-5 were grossly distorted, manipulated and twisted to serve the real intent of the programme -- the "yellow peril" scare tactics. *University Affairs*, a monthly publication by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, devoted six pages in its December issue to point out the "gross inaccuracies" and "deliberate distortions" of the programme.

Right from the start, W-5's definition and statistics on foreign students are debatable. The host claimed that there are at least 100,000 foreign students *in our schools* (presumably including elementary, secondary schools and colleges), and later on, she said that there are more than 100,000 foreign students *on our campuses*. The 1978 university statistics revealed that a total of 23,489 full time foreign university students in Canada. A fuller 1979 analysis gives the number of visa students as 18,304. If it is the contention of W-5 that landed immigrants (now called permanent residents) are in fact "foreign", then surely it would have stated as such. Even if these landed immigrants were included in the total, the number of "foreign" students on our campuses will still be less

than half of the W-5 figure.

A further point was made with the case of Barbara Allan. Ms. Allan, W-5 claimed, was unable to get into University of Toronto's first year pharmacy class despite her 79.5% average in high school. The programme further claimed that "although only 165 of a thousand applicants qualify, students from overseas make up 10 to 30 percent of the class." University sources have subsequently revealed that firstly, University of Toronto admits *no* foreign students into its first year pharmacy programme: and secondly, Ms. Allan did *not* obtain 79.5% in the subjects required for admission to pharmacy at the University. In a similar vein, W-5 claimed that "at least 20% of the kids in the high technology courses (engineering, computer science) are foreign, while these courses are turning down thousands of young Canadians." Again, University of Toronto, which W-5 used as a prime example, has a 5% quota on foreign students in engineering and courses are *not* turning down Canadians because of foreign students. The Association of Canadian Medical Schools reported that there are only 85 foreign students in Canada last year (W-5 claimed 400), and that 66 of these are from the U.S.A. At the University of Toronto, there are only two in the first year class of 256.

Who are these "foreign students"? CTV officials later admitted that landed immigrants have been treated in the count of foreign students. W-5 further alleged that "the students enter on special visas, but easily become landed immigrants, if they need to, in order to get into courses which restrict enrollement." Critics have been quick to point out that students with landed immigrant status are, for the most part, members of families resident in Canada. They enjoy most of the rights of Canadians, including the right to work and, if qualified, the right to enter university. The families, like everyone else, pay their taxes. Furthermore, changes in the Immigration Act in 1972 and 1973 had made it "extremely difficult", to quote one immigration official, for visa students to obtain landed immigrant status.

So why such deliberate distortion of facts? Was W-5 counting all non-white students in Canadian universities as "foreign"? If this was true, then it is not surprising that CTV used the tactics of distortion and manipulation to achieve its goals. To cite two examples, the programme's interview with John Helliwell, the foreign affairs director of the Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE), was completely taken out of context. Helliwell later revealed that the interview took 40 minutes, of which only a few seconds were used to support the contention of the producers. Similarly, film clips taken from the Chinese Students Associ-

ation's September 1979 orientation meeting at the University of Toronto's International Student Centre were used to illustrate such racist remarks as: "but there are so many Oriental foreign students and that they rarely mix with their Canadian classmates..." and "certainly this Chinese theater attracts a full house but not one Canadian student attended." W-5 researchers would be surprised to learn that the Association has subsequently identified most of the "yellow" faces that appeared on the programme and that the majority of these faces belong either to Canadian citizens or permanent residents.

Donald Savage, executive director of the Canadian Associations of University Teachers, accused the programme of conveying a subliminal message designed to aggravate racial tensions. In his letter to CTV, Savage wrote: "screening film footage of Chinese-looking students with the explicit assumption that such people could not be Canadians while reciting incorrect statistics and information about the rampant takeover of our Canadian universities clearly smacks of warnings about the 'yellow peril'. The inherent assumption here is that all Asians are 'foreign' and all whites are 'Canadians'. The programme did not once mention the fact that 32% of the foreign students in this country are from Europe and the U.S.S.R., and that 18.2% are from the United States.

Floods of protest came from concerned critics and university officials after the programme's airing. From the University of Toronto where most of the programme's materials were based, President James M. Ham wrote that "after viewing the clip I can honestly say I have not seen a nastier misrepresentation of the truth." The former Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis's criticism on Toronto's CKEY radio station was anything but subtle: "I will not say that the program was racist -- but it can surely be said that it would appeal strongly to those with latent racist instincts."

Perhaps James R. McBride, the Executive Director of the Canadian Bureau for International Education, stated the issue most aptly:

"It is apparent upon careful study of the programme that most of the errors, both of fact and of interpretation, are traceable to one false premise: that 'foreign students' and 'landed immigrants' are properly treated as a single group...

In showing pictures of non-whites, W-5 does not recognize the possibility that an oriental face can belong to a Canadian citizen, whose family may have been in Canada for several generations. A foreigner is anyone who looks foreign and 'Canada is being suckered as a nation' by other countries. Such manipulative use of words juxtaposed with pictures appeals to the worst instincts of an audience."

Three representatives from the Chinese Students Association of the University of Toronto have filed an intention to sue CTV and its producers within weeks of the programme's airing "It is deplorable that such programme was even allowed to be aired to the Canadian public, by taking legal action we are showing CTV and the public that we will not take the deformation of the Chinese people in Canada lying down," says

Norman Kwan, a second year *Canadian* dentistry student and one of the plaintiffs.

Reaction from the ethnic communities were equally as vocal. Protest letters from community organizations have been sent to CTV, CRTC, government representatives as well as the mass media. Within the Toronto Chinese community, an "Ad Hoc Committee of the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario Against W-5" was formed by nine organizations to condemn this type of irresponsible journalism. In its recently released position paper, the Ad Hoc Committee stated the following objectives:

- 1) to demand a public apology from CTV and an equal time to present a fair and accurate report to repair the damages done by the W-5 programme;
- 2) to take necessary steps to ensure that CTV does not air similar programmes misrepresenting and damaging the image of any ethno-cultural group; and
- 3) to educate the public about the contributions of the Chinese Canadians to Canadian society.

On December 17, 1979, the Ad Hoc Committee voted to support the students in their legal action financially and morally. Already, funds were raised from the generous donations of the Chinese community. Forums and rallies are planned to educate the community and to draw public's attention to the issue.

Clearly, the losers in this whole affair are not just Chinese Canadians, nor just visible minorities, but *all* Canadians. To the decent unsuspecting Canadians who rarely question the accuracy and credibility of CTV, watching W-5's "Campus Giveaway" segment is like being spoon-fed poison. The result is, of course, a brewing and growing hostility and enmity towards all visible minorities. This in turn creates suspicions and mistrusts among visible minorities against the "mainstream" society. When different ethnic groups in this multi-cultural society are trying to live side by side harmoniously and to understand each other, who needs another racially provocative programme like W-5?

The recent W-5 airing, however, should come as no surprise to the Chinese Canadians and other visible minorities. For a long time, the backlash against visible minorities has been growing in Toronto and elsewhere in Canada. The police killing of Albert Johnson this past summer started a series of "cops are tops" campaigns in Toronto. The recent influx of mostly ethnic Chinese refugees prompted the National Citizens Coalition to take out full page advertisements in the *Globe and Mail* to advocate a white Canada. One wonders whether it is "purely coincidental" that CTV came out with a programme at a time like this? History tends to repeat itself. Can the race riots of 1907, the 1923 Exclusion Act or the 1942 War Measures Act be far behind?

Despite claims to the contrary, racism is still rampant in Canadian society. All visible minorities have encountered racism in one form or another, and most have their own tales to tell. While our attention is focused on such individual racism as name-calling and racial slurs, another less visible form of racism is getting further entrenched into place -- institutional racism. In this day and age of Marshall McLuhan's "global village", what better place to start than through television?

International forum

FASCISM: INDONESIAN STYLE

by Aminur Rahim



FROM COLONIALISM TO FASCISM

Colonized by the Dutch, Japanese, and British in the past 300 years, Indonesia finally became independent in 1949 when the Sukarno-led nationalist movement overthrew the colonial powers.

However, the road to national sovereignty is not smooth, as Sukarno gradually realized. Although the foreign policy of the Sukarno government cherished anti-imperialism, due to colonial remnants, inflation, and government mismanagement, Indonesia remained unstable politically and economically throughout the 1950s. In desperation, the Sukarno government resorted to military power by inviting the army to strengthen the state apparatus. Unfortunately, there were two factions --- one pro-Sukarno, the other anti-Sukarno --- which were at odds with one another. The rivalry of these two factions was manifested in the coup of 1965 which resulted in the massacre of more than 500,000 peasants, workers, intellectuals, youths, and political activists. This was the beginning of fascism in Indonesia.

ECONOMIC UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN MISERY

The new government, under Suharto, cooperated closely with the U.S. in industrializing the country. In the past 14 years, billions of dollars have been pumped into the Indonesian economy from the U.S. in the form of foreign aid, loans, expertise service fees, etc. As many critical social scientists tell us, this aid has been detrimental to the Indonesian economy, and following the trend of colonialism and neo-colonialism, the country is well on its way to underdevelopment similar to many Latin American countries.

Fooled by the advice of the U.S. multinational corporations and the (U.S. dominated) World Bank,

the Suharto government, not only invited foreign aid but also mechanized agriculture with Western technology. Automobiles, highways, hotels, airports, etc. present an image of modernity but seldom generate capital necessary for industrialization and economic growth. Capital-intensive (as opposed to labour-intensive) technologies in farming throw peasants and labourers out of work and cement a dependency relationship with imperialist countries. Under the Suharto program of industrialization, cash crop farming was substituted for traditional subsistence crop cultivation. Indonesia, once self-sufficient in rice production, had to import 1.5 million tons of rice in 1974. Four years later, the amount almost doubled to 2.7 million.

Food shortages became a severe problem, and the standard of living for many people deteriorated. Consequently, the health situation of the Indonesians is not in good shape. According to the Ministry of Health, 60 percent of them are malnourished (*The New York Times*, April 27, 1978). The infant mortality rate is high by world standards and most children born in Java seldom reach five years



of age. Increasingly, family incomes for many urban poor have to be subsidized by the wages of children working in factories. It has been estimated that roughly 50,000 children under 15 years of age are cigarette factory labourers in Central and Eastern Java.

SCAPEGOATING THE CHINESE

In times of economic difficulties, it is easy for the ruling class to mitigate the frustration and anger of the people by scapegoating certain groups, be they of certain ethnic origin(s), or political or sexual orientations. In Suharto's regime, the Chinese have become the pawns of many politicians. There are three million Chinese living in Indonesia. Distinctions have been made between the so-called pure (or "asli") and the non-native Indonesian back in the 1950s. Several thousand Chinese were murdered in the aftermath of the 1965 coup. In the following ten years, a number of riots and raids resulted in the massacre of many more Chinese.

However, in 1976, Suharto reversed his policy of ill-treating the Chinese, and switched to a policy of total assimilation. Its aim was to destroy the Chinese culture and control in the country. Recently, all Chinese schools were banned, and Chinese social/cultural organizations (except temples) are not found in Indonesia today. Chinese newspapers are censored, and Chinese literature (books and periodicals) published in Singapore or Hong Kong are prohibited from entering Indonesian ports.

Indonesians of Chinese origin, immigrants, 2nd or 3rd generations (some with Indonesian names), find it hard to obtain government jobs. Universities set a ten percent quota on Chinese students. Since many of the former intellectuals were allegedly involved in the coup of 1965, and have been banished as prisoners in remote islands, the Suharto government has been utilizing Chinese talent to fill the vacuum left behind by the former intellectuals so as to bolster its rule by creating the Center for Strategic and International Studies (a U.S. style "think tank") consisting of mainly Chinese. The need for Chinese professional skills and business support and the necessity of scapegoating the Chinese poses a dilemma for the Suharto government which, at this stage, remains unsolved.

Domestic & International Flights
Specializing in Orient Tours

K. IWATA TRAVEL

*Courteous, efficient and
prompt service
around the world...*

162 Spadina Ave, Toronto
Ken Kutsukake 869-1291



MILITARY STATE AND POLITICAL REPRESSION

Although the military presence in Indonesian politics was not a new phenomenon, the coup of 1965 hastened the consolidation of military power in business and government. The process of military control of industries and plantations, which began in the 1950s, escalated after the coup with the generous help of the CIA and the American-trained technocrats (otherwise known as the "Berkeley Mafia"). The Suharto government is made up of military men and reactionary officials.

The underdeveloped economy created many forms of human misery as discussed before. It also generated resentment and resistance. Increasingly, some people began to see through the smoke screen of modernity and the politics of scapegoating, and started to organize political groups to fight back. Due to their ties with the corporate rich in Western countries and their incapacity to distribute wealth to the masses, there is little flexibility in the Suharto government to deal with dissident groups except through repressive measures. Consequently, the violation of human rights in Indonesia becomes more and more serious. According to Amnesty International, it has been estimated that there are approximately 70,000 political prisoners in Indonesia.

Political prisoners are known as "tapols". Yap Thiam, a former "tapol", maintained that tapols are "treated like dregs of society deprived of the most elementary rights enjoyed by all other citizens, like mere objects that can be moved from one place to another, put out 'on loan' to another authority for interrogation, to give evidence or to meet the personal needs of some officials..."

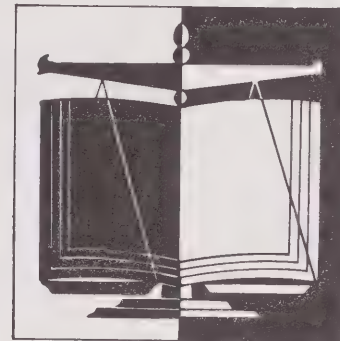
Prisoners are incarcerated in appalling conditions: they are subject to beatings, electric torture, sexual abuse, and isolation. Many of them die of tuberculosis and other diseases. Some prisoners are abandoned on remote islands (such as Buru), so that their dissident voices cannot be heard by the public. Others are sent to cultivate land, and most of their produce goes to supporting prison guards. Every six months when a camp commander goes on vacation or finishes his assignment, the prisoners are "advised" to give a farewell gift of 500,000 rupiahs (approximately U.S. \$ 1,080) from sales of their produce (such as poultry and rice). Prisoners are permitted to get married only when the couples swear to remain on the remote island(s). No educational facilities are available for the people there.

CONCLUSION

The 1970s' Indonesia is typified by its economic deterioration, ethnic scapegoating, and political repression. Like many repressive countries in the Third World, the Indonesian government finds it difficult to operate without extensive intelligence work, police surveillance, arrests, intimidation, interrogation and torture. People are afraid of the government. As Lukman Hakim, a student leader, once lamented, "the spirit of Hitler and Mussolini has arisen again". One wonders whether such a spirit will pass away in the near future or if it will spread like a plague throughout the world.

Aminur Rahim is a student at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto.

Reviews



Finding a Voice: Asian Women in Britain by Amrit Wilson (London: Virago, 1978).

"There have been things written about Asian women which show them always as a group who can't speak for themselves. They are treated as objects..... nothing more. I wanted to show how Asian women are quite capable of speaking for themselves."

The sad, lonely lives of Britain's Asian women have been documented in a very personal way by Amrit Wilson, an Indian who has been living in Britain since 1961. Even though the book deals specifically with the problems faced by Asian women in Britain, its implications can be extended to Asian women in Canada and other countries where there is a high percentage of immigration.

Over the years numerous books have appeared on the politics and economics of immigration, on race and class, and on race relations in general. But there have been very few books written from the heart of the new communities, and this is what makes Amrit's book worth reading. In *Finding a Voice: Asian Women in Britain*, Asian women have freely expressed their feelings and opinions. Amrit has listened painstakingly to accounts of life and despair and occasionally even of happiness from women who have come to Britain from India, Pakistan, East Africa and Bangladesh.

The richness of the book lies in the fact that Amrit has allowed the women and girls to speak for themselves. In doing so, she has respected them enough to disguise none of the traumas and conflicts inherent in the lives they lead. One basic source of conflict concerns the nature and significance of the distinctive values of Asian culture. Discussing those of Muslim immigrants, Amrit emphasizes the importance of reputation or *izzat*, "the sensitive and many-faceted male family identity which can change as the situation demands it--from family pride to honour to self respect, and sometimes to pure male ego." The chance of improving one's *izzat* back home is related to economic advancement in Britain, but this also exposes one to situations which might jeopardize one's *izzat*. Women are often made the scapegoats of damaged *izzat* because unpredictable behaviour by a woman damages a family's claims to reputation. The pressures from within Asian cultures are then compounded by pressures from British culture. This is well documented in interviews with Asian school children in Southall who hesitated to indicate their preference for Indian food, who were afraid to go out in the sun for fear of becoming black--and who thought there were too many Indians in the neighbourhood.

Amrit's book examines the various pressures that Asian women have to face as a result of two factors--the racist attitude adopted by some British people, and the traditional roles the women play in their own communities. Racism is shown as something deeply rooted in British society. For example, Amrit thoroughly documents the institutionalized racism of Britain's immigration laws. She writes of "racism written into, and demanded by Britain's immigration laws", citing examples of Asian women who have been detained upon arrival in Britain and scornfully treated by immigration officers.

A large majority of Asian women in Britain are isolated because of their fears of racial threats. This condition can in turn lead to loneliness, apathy and despair. Others suffer from the fact that they will never have the chance to make choices between the values of Western culture and the traditions of Hinduism, though they are aware of the choices they have. For example, one dilemma encountered by Asian women is that their husbands often expect them to work very hard at home, but for the women themselves, joining the labour force is a more attractive alternative. This creates a great deal of tension in the household, and usually these women have to subordinate their wishes to those of their husbands. However, those who do go out to work are often exploited by unscrupulous employers, who pay them minimum wages, make them work under sub-human conditions and demand excess labour.

Amrit paints a gloomy picture of the existing situation, but in her opinion, it is not entirely a hopeless one. She cites many examples (see chapter on employment) where Asians are learning to exert themselves and she hopes that they will be able to overcome the twin evils of racism and male chauvinism.

The book is thematically divided into various sections: the family, employment, immigration, school life, adolescence, marriage--and a section on isolation. These sections are followed by an insightful chapter, "Sisters in Struggle" which is a collection of personal testimonies portraying women as creative participants in a process of change. Amrit is doubtful whether change is going to lead to any kind of liberation for Asian women, for they will only be substituting one form of oppression for another. What she also makes clear is that Asian women should not assume that the road to liberation lies through westernization. Amrit is merciless in her remarks on the situation of white women in Britain, describing them as neurotic, lacking love and attention in their homes and suffering from extreme isolation. She goes on to security because of the loving relationships between

women. And this is one of the ways in which they might be able to make a contribution to the women's liberation movement in Britain.

The poignancy of the book lies in the fact that Amrit was able to reach a lot of these Asian women and get them to describe their emotions and opinions. She says that the book would have been very difficult to write for a white person. "I think that Asian women are very reluctant to talk to white women about their inner feelings. There are two main reasons: first that they think that white women wouldn't understand because they don't come from the same background; the second reason is that Asian women are aware of living in a very racist society...many Asian women feel they shouldn't criticize their community or criticize anything that happens in their community to outsiders, and that too is a direct reaction to racism."

Amrit's book highlights the most negative aspects of race relations in Britain. She is very harsh in her attacks on British society, and demands that the British people realize the extent of the racism in their society. However, she is rather optimistic in her belief that once they come to this realization, efforts can be made to correct the situation.

- Smita Sengupta

This review has appeared in the Revue (Canadian Asian Studies Association), October 19, 1979: 25-26; and in the Resource for Feminist Research (November, 1979).

Heart's Frame, by Cyril Dabydeen. (Cornwall: Vesta Publications, 1979), 73 pp.

An identity clearly emerges --- someone who is aware of one's strengths and weaknesses. It maneuvers between tensions of sex ("The Beast", "At Nights"), of memory ("Wake Song", "Waking Up"), of confrontation with an alien culture ("Residues", "Immigrants", "Girl from the Tropics"), and of historical experience ("Let It Rain", "Going Out", "The House"). The tensions move towards an ideal of strength ("Another Sun"); however, there are daily agonies: the struggle of the one night stand, of

the old face in the mirror, of the anger of rejected desire ("Love's Labour Lost"), of racial bigotry ("Showpiece"); of the separation between friends and lovers ("Song", "Farewell"), and deportation ("Mother and Child").

The divided consciousness that plagues West Indian writers such as Derek Walcott, George Lamming, and V.S. Naipaul, may be seen in Cyril Dabydeen's book. One solution for bridging the gap for Derek Walcott is through the mastery of his art as witnessed in one of his verses: "to suffer in accurate iambs." I miss this tightness of form in Dabydeen's work. Simple punctuation, judiciously arranged, could help to clear up ambiguities in meaning. Ideas flit by, sometimes richly metaphorical, more often merely hinted at, but not fully explored.

When the metaphor is sustained, the poem becomes evocative and moving, as in "Indian Dancer." In contrast to the historical sense, in Edward Brathwaite's "Caliban", of the middle passage as represented by the word and dance limbo, Dabydeen offers a subjective crossing of the threshold in "Limbo". The drums which beat deeply inside are framed within the individual heart.

- Lakshmi Gill

Lakshmi Gill is a Filipina Canadian poet presently completing her Ph.D. in English at the University of New Brunswick.

NORMAN BETHUNE BOOKSTORE
PROGRESSIVE BOOKS, PERIODICALS AND ART
FROM CANADA AND AROUND THE WORLD.
YOU'LL FIND A WIDE SELECTION

- On the fight against racism and national oppression in Canada
- From the Workers Communist Party
- On the Workers' Movement in Canada
- From Socialist China
- On and from Kampuchea
- From the 3rd World

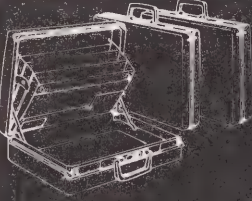
Mon. - Wed. 10-6
Thurs. & Fri. 10-9
Sat. 10-5

856 Bathurst **536-8749**

HIGH - FASHION
LEATHER GOODS
AT
REASONABLE PRICES

楨美皮具公司
CHINATOWN LEATHER

201 DUNDAS ST. WEST, TORONTO M5G 1C8
TEL. 598-0061




Overseas Koreans and the Korean Dictatorship

Simon Lee

The news of the death of Park Chung Hee, the South Korean dictator, on October 26, 1979 shocked Koreans abroad. He had ruled South Korea for eighteen years and was ironically shot to death by the KCIA chief, one of his well trusted officers. The end of this ruthless dictator was shocking but well deserved. For 18 years he abused the tension between South Korea and North Korea to maintain his power. The division of the country and the danger of invasion from the North discouraged people from standing up against Park Chung Hee's dictatorship.

In 668 A.D. Korea was united as a single kingdom under the Silla dynasty and remained united until 1945, the year which also brought an end to 35 years of Japanese occupation. To enforce the surrender of Japanese forces, American troops entered South Korea and Russian troops entered North Korea. Few Koreans expected that this temporary arrangement would eventually lead to a permanent division. Syngman Rhee became the first President in the South and Il Sung Kim became the President in the North. Syngman Rhee was forced to resign in April 1960 by the student revolution because of his repressive measures. New elections were held and the Democratic Party of Yun Chang won a great victory. Chang headed the new government as Prime Minister, but showed little promise of coping with the continuing economic deterioration.

In May 1961, a virtually bloodless military coup overthrew the elected government of Yun Chang, dissolved the National Assembly, and banned political parties. A leader of the junta, General Chung Hee Park, emerged as the new ruler. Park held an election in 1963, running as a civilian. He was elected president of the Republic and was re-elected in 1967. The revision of the constitution was approved in the National Assembly without the votes of the opposition members in 1970 and it allowed Park to run for a third term of the presidency.

MARTIAL LAW

Then very suddenly, in October 1972, President Park Chung Hee declared martial law on all of South Korea, dissolved the National Assembly, suspended all political activities and discarded the essential parts of the constitution. Ten days after the imposition of martial law, a new constitution was proposed

and was approved by national referendum, giving Park virtually unlimited power to be elected for as long as he wished. According to the new constitution, the President controls all three branches of the government, and acts as the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. This new constitution also drastically reduced the power of the National Assembly and gave the President the power to dissolve it at any time. Also, one-third of its members are hand-picked by the President and one-third are elected from his party, which means that only one-third of the seats remain for the opposition party. The Supreme Court is also controlled by the President. He appoints the Chief Justice and the Justices of Lower Courts. Park Chung Hee declared nine emergency decrees in addition to the new constitution which restricts any criticism about the new constitution or the President.

STRONG REACTIONS

Strong reactions in South Korea to Park's absolute dictatorship started as soon as martial law was lifted. University students demonstrated and made their demands as follows:

- 1) stop the Fascist rule with secret police and re-establish a democratic system which guarantees basic human rights of the people, and
- 2) abolish the new constitution.



Students demonstrating against the new constitution.

The Christian community became the strongest critics of the government. It condemned the government on the following grounds:

- 1) The present dictatorship is destroying rules and laws and it now rules by force and threat alone.
- 2) The present regime is destroying freedom of conscience and freedom of religious beliefs.
- 3) The dictatorship of Park is using systematic deception, manipulation and indoctrination to control the people.
- 4) The dictatorship of Park uses sinister, inhuman, and at the same time, ruthlessly efficient means to destroy political opponents, intellectual critics and innocent people.

The Christians in Korea made their position clear with the following words: "We resolve that we will follow the footsteps of our Lord, living among the oppressed and poor people, standing against political oppression."

The paranoid Park reacted in a severe manner. Thousands of arrests were made among the Christians, intellectuals, students, workers and farmers. Overseas Koreans began to realize that the political situation in Korea was reaching a crisis. The Association of Korean Christian Scholars in North America issued several statements in regard to the political situation of Korea. In one of their statements, they expressed that "in a spirit of Christian determination and solidarity with our brothers and sisters in Korea,

- 1) we demand the immediate release of the political prisoners in South Korea,
- 2) we condemn the dismissal of 416 professors in South Korea and demand that they be reinstated immediately,
- 3) we demand that the governments of the United States and Japan stop support of President Park Chung Hee and we also ask that he resign in order that a democratic constitutional government can be established in place of the present dictatorial regime and
- 4) we urge all churches in North America to support the Koreans who are now engaged in the crucial struggle to preserve the dignity of the church and to restore a democratic society in South Korea which will respect basic human rights."

The Koreans in West Germany also took part in the Overseas Korean Movement with a declaration of their position as follow:

"We, Korean Christians in Germany, solemnly declare that we shall do our very best in every possible situation to maintain our solidarity with those who are struggling and suffering for the defence of democracy both inside and outside Korea in order that injustice and dictatorship will never reign in our nation. We reaffirm once again, as we make this declaration, that we shall never betray the truth and never submit to coercion even when we are faced with threats, for we believe that now is the time to resist injustice-this is the way to obey our God." Indeed Koreans inside and outside faithfully warned Park to stop his

dictatorship but he never listened until he was shot to death.

Churches in the U.S.A., Canada, Germany and Sweden are taking a very active part in the "democracy in Korea" movement. Overseas Korean organizations and churches in the West are working together in lobbying in western political councils. Some of the organizations for restoration of democracy in Korea may be listed as follows: The Council for Democracy in Korea (Toronto), Korean Congress for Democracy and Unification, the United Movement for Democracy in Korea and North American Coalition for Democracy in Korea.

NO OVERSEAS KOREAN SUPPORT!

No overseas Koreans supported Park Chung Hee's regime but many remain a silent majority. The Korean CIA secret activities in Canada, U.S.A. and elsewhere seem to be effective. Many Koreans have been threatened by the Korean CIA and have been told that if their anti-government activities do not stop, there might be some trouble with their relatives back in Korea. However, the Korean CIA activities and their threats in Canada or U.S.A. do not scare the conscious, and democratic-minded overseas Koreans as they continue to fight for restoration of a truly democratic government in Korea.

KCIA-- POWERLESS

Now Park is gone and his right hand force, the KCIA, has become powerless. North American organizations for democracy in Korea read the situation in Korea as a victory of the people through Pusan and Masan demonstrations and issued their statement to the new situation in Korea as follows, with wishes that they will be heard this time.

"The United Movement for Democracy in Korea and the Korean Congress for Democracy and Unifications are organizations whose members are citizens of Korea living outside its boundaries.



ALL PHOTOS: Park's Pawns (Osaka, Nov. 22nd Rescue Assoc., '75)

The North American Coalition for Human Rights in Korea includes in its membership the United Church of Canada, the National Council of Churches in the U.S.A., Church Women United, the United States Catholic Conference, the United Presbyterian Church, the Christian Church, Disciples of Christ, the Presbyterian Church U.S., and the United Methodist Church. It also includes representatives of regional associations committed to support human rights in Korea.

These organizations work in close association, although they make their respective policies independently.

It is the belief of these organizations that the circumstances set in motion by President Park Chung Hee's assassination offer the United States a unique opportunity to support with new initiatives the restoration of democracy in the Republic of Korea, therefore, we urge the following:

1. That the armed forces of the Republic of Korea remain neutral in the emergence of a new political process.
2. An orderly process be established for the drafting of a new democratic constitution to replace the current Yushin Constitution, and for the selection of a government based on the sovereign will of the citizens of the Republic of Korea.
3. That this new constitution guarantee human rights and assure the opportunity for citizens of the Republic of Korea to play a direct role in the affairs of their country.
4. That free and open elections as soon as possible is the best method to achieve democratic rule in South Korea.
5. The immediate release of all political prisoners, and lifting of restrictions such as house arrest of human rights supporters.

We re-emphasize the importance of the commitment of the Government of the United States of America to the security of the Republic of Korea. We are pleased to note such commitment reaffirmed by our government during this crisis."



Community News

SOME racists ARE INVISIBLE

"Invisible racists" hide behind government bureaucracy and make policies which affect many minority groups, an audience of about 60 was told by Mohinder Singh at a forum on racism on November 29 at the Queen St. E. Presbyterian Church, Toronto. This forum was organized by the Asianadrian Resource Workshop and the Organization to Fight for the Democratic Rights of Immigrants (OFDRI).

According to Singh, the mass media also actively promotes racism, and influences public opinion and the policy-makers in Ottawa. Another kind of racist can be found among the working public who are taught to be racist and non-racist at the same time. Unlike the "invisible racists", these working people come into contact with visible minorities in their daily life, and have to resolve the incompatible images of visible minorities which they have been taught. Some people resolve in favour of the Asians and blacks, but many come out with the belief that visible minorities are their enemies. Further, Singh condemned the indifference of the Canadian labour movement to eliminate racial inequality.

The forum began with a slide show, "If You Are Brown, Turn Around", introduced by Tim McCaskell who is the coordinator of the Riverdale Intercultural Council. This slide show documented the "mystique" of the East promoted by colonists and the migration of Asians into Canada and the role they played in the Canadian economy.

Cheuk Kwan of the Asianadrian Resource Workshop lamented the detrimental effects of institutional racism on visible minorities. Using the CTV W-5 program ("Campus Giveaway") aired last September as an example, Kwan pointed out that CTV's equation of "foreign students" with Chinese was a distortion aimed at instigating racism. He also outlined several routes which the recently formed Ad Hoc Committee Against W-5 may take to undo the harm which has been done to the Chinese, as well as to other non-white minorities: writing letters to MPs and MPPs, legal action, publicity work etc.

Maryka Omatsu, a civil rights lawyer working with the Canadian Human Rights Commission, discussed two basic tactics of fighting racism: one is going through the complaint procedure of the provincial and federal Human Rights Commissions; the other is the formation of an united front among all concerned citizens. Omatsu used the Japanese experience in the 1940s as an example to illustrate the need for mutual help among racial or ethnic groups in case of crisis. She suggested that Asian Canadians join black demonstrations and rallies, and treat the struggle of blacks as their own. They should speak out at community centres, churches, labour union meetings, women's organizations, etc. and promote understanding among racial or ethnic groups.

A lively discussion period followed with questions and comments from the floor. Some of the

questions raised included: Are the terms "visible minority", "ethnic groups", "black" relevant to an understanding of racial or ethnic relationships? Who should be involved in anti-racist struggles? To what extent are class elements significant? What role does the mass media play in projecting images of "immigrants"?

- Bobby Siu

ASIANS: GAY & PROUD

Non-white gay men and lesbians face a double-edged sword: the racism of the general society as filtered into the gay community and the sometimes vicious sexism and homophobia of our own "ethnic" communities. These two factors alone have kept us isolated. The latter has prevented many from participating fully in our own community or if we do, it enforces a secretiveness that leads to cultural schizophrenia.

To overcome these barriers non-white lesbians and gay men have organized. "When will the Ignorance End?" was the theme of the first National Third World Gay Conference held in Washington, D.C., October 12 to 15. Sponsored by the National Coalition of Black Gays, it brought together 627 men and women to talk, sing, dance, to learn from each other, to discover our history, and to organize.

An Asian caucus was formed by lesbians and gay men with Japanese, Indonesian, Indian, Chinese, Malaysian and Filipino backgrounds from the US, Canada and the Caribbean.

The workshop themes included Immigration, Asian American gay research, children of interracial marriage, social/sexual revolution (focus on Cuba), Chicano identity, gays in the black family and others.

The conference coincided with the National March on Washington for lesbian and gay Rights and on Sunday October 14, about 200 delegates marched from the conference site at Howard University through the black community and Chinatown to meet the mammoth demonstration.

The Asians, marching for the first time as a group, followed the Native American contingent and preceded the Latin Americans.

At the 200,000 strong rally, Asian spokeswoman Noshika Cornell, reminded the crowd of America's bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima and it's ruthless exploits in South East Asia. She also cautioned lesbians and gay men against fighting one form of oppression while perpetrating another.

For Asian gays, this Conference was very important for setting up a network of information and political support, for giving us the energy to struggle in our communities and for doing all this in the context of a third world movement.

- Richard Fung



A CALL FOR UNITY: the C.C.C.O. conference

"Living and growing in Canada: A Chinese Canadian Perspective" was the theme of the two days conference held on November 10-11, 1979 at the Royal York Hotel in Toronto. The conference was sponsored by the Council of Chinese Canadians in Ontario (CCCCO) in cooperation with the Ontario Ministry of Culture and Recreation and the Multiculturalism Directorate of the Secretary of State.

With nearly 500 participants from Ontario, as well as representatives from other provinces, the Conference called for the unity of all Chinese Canadians to combat prejudices and racism, to participate in Canadian politics and to reaffirm their rightful place in the Canadian society.

In his opening keynote speech, Professor K.C. Tan of Guelph University set the tone of the conference by reminding the audience that "as Chinese Canadians, we have made a commitment, individually and collectively, to live alongside other Canadians, many of whom are like ourselves, immigrants from another land. We are committed to share with these fellow countrymen our destiny in this land of hope and together to make contributions to ensure that this is forever the True North strong and free."

To Tan, merely living side by side with other Canadians is not enough. The Chinese Canadians must also assert themselves lest they are denied their rights and their share in the multi-cultural and multi-racial society of Canada. Tan went on to outline two main issues that were to become the "hot topics" during the two days conference: recent National Citizens Coalition's backlash against the boat

people and the misleading "Campus Giveaway" segment in CTV's W-5 newsmagazine programme. "The National Citizens Coalition and its advisor do not want to see this kind of sharing and co-operation... they adopt scare tactics to undermine this healthy relationship. They advance the reactionary notion that China is the natural homeland of the ethnic Chinese....", said Tan, "CTV's W-5 programme is equally malicious... the producers of the programme are afraid that our younger generation may make positive contributions to this country, so they resort to incitement of public anger to exclude them from their rightful place in Canadian universities."

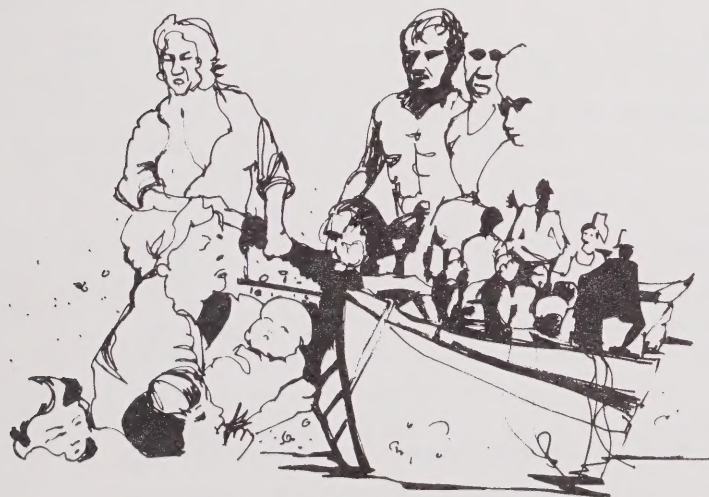
After the plenary session, the conference broke into ten different discussion sessions, dealing with topics such as: mother tongue maintenance, youth problems, the school system, the role of Chinese Canadian women, the "golden years," and changing choices of careers. Not surprisingly, the morning session on "political awareness and participation" and the afternoon session on "discrimination and prejudice" attracted the most attention. The majority of participants in these two sessions agreed that Chinese Canadians must fight racial inequality and injustice wherever they occur and that they must shed their traditional Chinese belief on "non-interference in the affairs of others" in order to make a serious and conscious effort of raising their political awareness and their political participation in the society.

Of equal importance in the conference is the strong involvement of Chinese with backgrounds outside of China, Hong Kong and Macao. Subgroups from Southeast Asia, West Indies, and even those from India, East and South Africa as well as Canadian-born Chinese took an active part in the conference. As Professor Tan, himself a Chinese from Singapore, noted that for the Chinese community to open up to the mainstream Canadian society, they must first be united among the many existing subgroups.

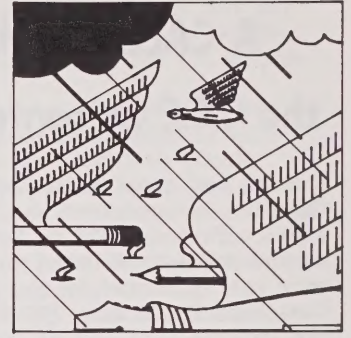
There was also a general concern among the speakers and participants that perhaps the conference is too elitist, that the people who attended are mostly professionals and there are many more "fellow Chinese Canadians" who were absent. An urge was made to CCCC to face the reality of the situation within the Chinese community and to involve themselves more with the community.

The conference closed with remarks from Professor Jamshed Mavalwala of the University of Toronto, who summarised the concerns of the Chinese Canadians aptly when he gave insightful example of racial inequality. Why, he asked, is it alright and acceptable for people from Scotland or England to talk about *going home* for Christmas, but when the Chinese Canadians or other "visible minorities" talked about their other "home", they are immediately being branded as disloyal and untrustworthy?

- Cheuk Kwan



Poetry



It was for winter
he made the coat
He saw the bloodied hands
that cleaned the skin
push the shameless meat aside
He drew breath
and out of body
saw the hands were his.

It eased the guilt to know
that solitude had forced
the death
whose bones like pointing fingers
accused him
from the table.
He ignored the knife's grip
greased and red
pronouncing verdict with courtroom silence
about the cabin.

He ate the meat tastelessly
and when he was filled
dug a grave up hillside
retched
and retched.

Bundled
warm
he slept.

- Carol Matsui



For Hung

If my dream ever dries up
Like the summer dew
How can I live like a wild
Swan in a swamp.

If I ever stretch my hand to
Reach the green paddy field of the
Mekong Delta,
But fall on the good earth like
A pierced swan.

If I cook a pot of rice with
Lentils and fishes
But am denied to eat.

If I try to build a plebeian
Muddy hut for you against rainy days
But it burns down by the napalm bomb
Then,

Tell me
How we will survive
In the land of poverty, hunger and misery.

-Aminur Rahim

In the rain
she dances
open coat and heart
chants for the sky
to take her
wet and impassioned
vibrant
alive

laughs
at the string he makes
of her hair
the gown of rivers
she wears

He nuzzles her to
the crazy edge
dabs pine perfume behind her
ringing ears
until
beneath their lids
her eyes are light
and she sees what she is
what she ever hoped
to be

There is laughter in the sky
in the white of day
when she
makes it rain

-Carol Matsui



Yankee Ingenuity.

Introducing: **THE ASIA MAIL** Crossword Puzzle!

Jeremiah Novak on U.S.-Japan Trade War
Tourism Focus on The Delights of Sri Lanka

THE ASIA MAIL

"AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES ON ASIA AND THE PACIFIC"

ONE DOLLAR

OCTOBER 1978

Three on China

George Bush:
'Finding A Taiwan Solution'
Parris H. Chang:
'A Peking-Tokyo Axis?'
Ray S. Cline:
'On Flirtation With Peking'

'Doing Business in Japan'

When I first went out to Japan as a journalist 20 years ago, a community of American businessmen was already active. Most were involved in selling goods or services to Japan, but some were involved in setting up joint ventures with Japanese companies. Others had industrial properties or equipment which they sought to export to Japan. Some were beginning to get on their feet again. A few more were new to the Japanese market and were looking for the U.S. Armed Forces as a springboard to establishing themselves in the Japanese consumer market.

Subsistence, or at the least at the American Club, the headquarters of the American community in Tokyo. The Japanese government, they were convinced, was subservient to their Japanese partners. Foreign exchange regulations were as strict as Japanese fiscal, despite the fact that conversion of profits made in Japan from overseas investment was not a problem. And western-style food was ridiculously expensive even if it was cash-made were made.

Recently those from the U.S. Island, what more could anyone ask? Well, up to the point now from Club, high end Japanese or even to the Japanese and American Club. The Japanese government, they were convinced, was subservient to their Japanese partners. Foreign exchange regulations were as strict as Japanese fiscal, despite the fact that conversion of profits made in Japan from overseas investment was not a problem. And western-style food was ridiculously expensive even if it was cash-made were made.

Who else but a young American would have the audacity to try to tell other educated Americans what's really going on in Asia? And then win near-unanimous applause (plus a few raised eyebrows) for doing just that?

THE ASIA MAIL is that young-only two years old-American. The monthly publication has attracted an enthusiastic and loyal audience inside the United States of those Americans most interested and involved in Asia.

THE ASIA MAIL bylines include names like Doak Barnett, Sen. Edward Kennedy, George Bush, Ronald Reagan, Norman Sklarewitz, Parris H. Chang, Jeremiah Novak, Ruth Lor Malloy, Laurie Sherman, Saul Lockhart, Ray S. Cline and Alain Y. Dessaint. And get a load of the list (partial) of consulting editors: Robert Trumbull, Tillman Durdin, Roxane Witke, Robert

Rodale, John Hughes, John Pinkerman, Chang Kuo-sin, Stanley Karnow, William Hosokawa and James D. Holland.

There are articles for the businessmen (like Editor and Publisher Edward Neilan's recent look at "Yankee Traders in Asia"), articles on politics, economic development and a bevy of book and art reviews. A new column "Asiapeople" eavesdrops on the high and mighty.

Opinion leaders, movers and shakers in the field of United States relations with Asia, depend on THE ASIA MAIL to keep them monthly informed on all things Asia. Join the Asia-aware by subscribing today! ☐

THE ASIA MAIL

"American Perspectives on Asia & Pacific"

CLIP HERE

TO: THE ASIA MAIL Subscription Department, P.O. Box 1044, Alexandria, Virginia 22313

Yes, I would like to read about what Americans are thinking, saying and doing about Asia. Please enter my subscription:

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

☐ ONE YEAR (\$11)

☐ TWO YEARS (\$20)

☐ THREE YEARS (\$28)

☐ PAYMENT ENCLOSED

☐ BILL VISA

☐ BILL MASTER CHARGE

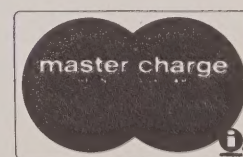


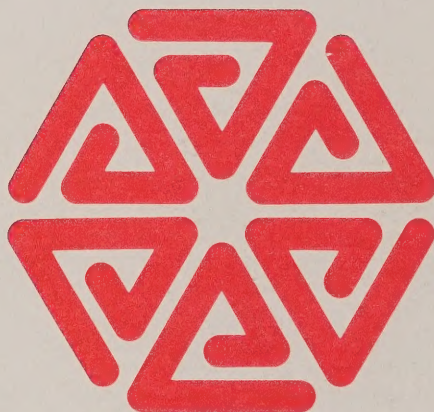
Credit Card No.

Expiration Date

MC Interbank No.

Signature





Return Postage Guaranteed



P.O. Box 1256
Station Q.
Toronto, Ontario
M4T 2P4
Canada

Second Class Mail
Registration Number
4438
Postage Paid
at Toronto, Canada